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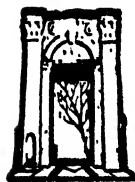
1917-1942

*A Bibliography and a Guide
to Reading*

by

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**THIS BOOK IS PRODUCED
IN COMPLETE CONFORMITY WITH
THE AUTHORISED ECONOMY STANDARD**

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PREFACE

THIS book represents the first attempt to compile a list of books and pamphlets on post-revolutionary Russia that have been published in Great Britain. The period that it covers is the twenty-five years between February 1917 and the end of June 1942. But a mere list of names and titles, while it might be of value to a fairly restricted class of librarians and booksellers, would be of little use to the general public, and there is at present a serious need for some kind of guide to the enormous and very varied literature in existence on the Soviet Union. I have therefore tried to make the bibliography acceptable to a wider public by including in it a certain number of works—chiefly collections of documents and personal memoirs—published outside Great Britain, mainly in the United States or in the Soviet Union and occasionally in languages other than English, and by adding to each item a note on its character and the point of view from which it is written. In both these features the personal factor is involved, and it is in them that I shall probably lay myself most open to criticism. The choice of foreign works has depended on the extent and the vagaries of my own reading and knowledge—to some degree also on my estimate of the availability in England of the books I mention—and it will probably strike any expert as most unsatisfactory. But while it would no doubt have been very desirable to have planned something on the lines of Kerner's *Slavic Europe*, there are insuperable obstacles to attempting such a compilation under present circumstances. Too many libraries are inaccessible, and it is either difficult or impossible to communicate with scholars and publishers in other countries. I hope, however, that my references to foreign literature may be found to be of use, though I give them with the proviso that no attempt has been made to render them systematic and that many excellent works have been left out altogether.

The comments on books and pamphlets are only intended to serve as a rough guide to their character. I have tried to be as objective as possible, and my judgments will, I think,

usually be found to err on the side of charity. My object otherwise has been to give only those items of information which will enable a reader to identify a book or pamphlet easily: the author's name, the exact title, the number of pages, the publisher's name and the date of publication. Some details which a strict bibliographer might like to include, but which are of no practical importance, have been omitted. For example, if a book, printed in the USSR, was published in May 1933 and reprinted in England later in the same year, the fact that one edition was printed in England and the other was not has not been recorded unless there were other differences between them. When a work has been reprinted a number of times without any change, the exact dates of each reprint have been omitted. It need scarcely be pointed out that a fairly large proportion of the books and the great bulk of the pamphlets mentioned in this bibliography are long since out of print; they can only be obtained second-hand or consulted in a library.

It has not always been easy to decide what items should be included and what should be left out. The limitation to books and pamphlets has been fairly strictly followed; only a few articles in periodicals have been included for reference purposes, and off-prints of articles have been omitted unless they were clearly put on the market as pamphlets. A few books published in the early years after the Revolution have been omitted on the ground that they are not concerned with Soviet Russia; although they profess to deal with existing conditions they do not in fact do so, either because they were written before 1917 and their publication had been delayed, or because their authors regarded the events of 1917 as of only transitory importance and foresaw a rapid return to pre-revolutionary conditions. It has often been difficult to draw a hard and fast line between books on Soviet Russia and books on Communism; in general, however, works dealing with the latter subject have been omitted, unless they are by Soviet authors or concern themselves directly with conditions in the Soviet Union. No attempt has been made to trace the local activities of the Communist Parties of other lands, save in so far as they have been linked up with the central activities of the Comintern or

the foreign policy of the USSR. Only in two cases have I felt justified in overstepping the limitations of my brief; although neither Sinkiang nor Outer Mongolia forms part of the Soviet Union, Russian influence in them is so strong that I have included brief sections on both these regions, and I have also included a short list of books dealing with the Chinese Revolution and the Communist areas of China.

The scheme of classification has presented certain difficulties, but its main lines should be sufficiently clear, and with the help of numerous cross-references and the index it should not be difficult to trace any particular book. Consistency in the spelling of Russian names I have neither achieved nor sought, as it appeared a hopeless task in view of the vagaries of publishers and sometimes of the authors themselves. In the list of books the names are spelt in accordance with the indications of the title-page; only in the index will all the works of an author be found in the same place under the same spelling, with cross-references from the more wayward spellings elsewhere. I perhaps owe my readers an apology for my use in the title and currently in the book of the expression 'Soviet Russia', instead of the more correct 'USSR' or 'Soviet Union', but its meaning is clear enough, and it would be incorrect to use the latter expressions when referring to the period before 1923.

It only remains for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to those who have made the compilation of this book possible. My chief thanks are due to the assistants of Cambridge University Library, who have responded without complaint to what must have seemed to them interminable and insensate demands for the obscurest pamphlets of the past twenty-five years. I am scarcely less indebted to the authorities of Marx House in London, who allowed one who could lay no claims at all to their consideration the free use of their unique collection of the early pamphlet literature of the years immediately following the Russian Revolution. Messrs Lawrence and Wishart kindly allowed me the 'run' of the file copies of their publications, and my queries to other publishers on various points have always been very fully and courteously answered. Mr Maurice Dobb, Mr Lancelot Lawton, and other friends have

at various times placed their collections of books and pamphlets at my disposal, and to them and to many others I owe much valuable advice. Canon P. E. T. Widdrington has been kind enough to give me the benefit of his expert knowledge of the conditions of religious life in Russia, and Dr A. S. Lawrence and Mr W. F. Reddaway have been my advisers on the subjects of Soviet films and Russo-Polish relations respectively. But in justice to these and others I must make it clear that none of them has seen my manuscript, that I have not always taken their advice, and that for any sins of commission or omission that may occur in this book I alone am responsible. Since it is in its way a pioneer in its field, I fear that it contains only too many inaccuracies and that many books and pamphlets will be found to have escaped my notice ; so for any corrections or amplifications which my readers may be kind enough to vouchsafe me I shall be extremely grateful.

PHILIP GRIERSON

CAMBRIDGE, 1942

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FURTHER information regarding the names and addresses of publishers in this list can be found in such publications as the *English Catalogue of Books* or *Whitaker's Cumulative Book List*. Some of the societies named below have of course long ceased to exist, or have been absorbed by others. Unless the contrary is indicated, all books in this bibliography have been published in London.

A	Allen (G.) & Co.	CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
AP	Appleton-Century Co.	CS	Cassell & Co.
AR	Arnold (E.) & Co.	CTS	Catholic Truth Society
ARPC	Anglo - Russian Parliamentary Committee	CUP	Cambridge University Press
AS	Arrowsmith (J. W.)	CW	Chatto & Windus
AU	Allen (G.) & Unwin		
B	Black (A. & C.)	D	Duckworth (G.) & Co.
BA	Barker (A.)	DA	Archer (Denis)
BN	Benn (E.)	DL	Daniel (C. W.) Co.'
BO	Burns Oates & Washbourne	DT	Dent (J. M.) & Sons
BR	Brentano	ECCI	Executive Committee of the Communist International
BSP	British Socialist Party (later Communist Party)	ES	Eyre & Spottiswoode
BW	Boriswood	F	Faber & Faber
C	Constable & Co.	FLPH	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow
CA	Cape (John)	{	FSR Friends of Soviet Russia FSU Friends of the Soviet Union (later 'Russia To-day' Society)
CD	Chapman & Dodd		
CH	Chapman & Hall		
CO	Collins (W.) & Sons		
CP	Communist Party (of Great Britain, unless the context clearly indicates otherwise)	G	Gollancz (Victor)
CPS	Co-operative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers, Moscow and Leningrad	GG	Grayson & Grayson
		GR	Richards (Grant)
		H	Heinemann (W.)
		HA	Harrap (G. G.) & Co.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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HB	Hurst & Blackett	N	Nisbet (J.) & Co.
HH	Hamilton (Hamish)	NG	Nash (E.) & Grayson
HJ	Jenkins (Herbert)	NLP	National Labour Press, Manchester
HN	Hutchinson & Co.	NMM	National Minority Movement
HO	Hodge (W.) & Co.	NN	Nelson (T.) & Sons
HOR	'Hands Off Russia' Committee (later Anglo-Russian Parlia- mentary Committee)	NS	Newnes (G.)
HP	Hogarth Press	NW	Nicholson (I.) & Watson
HR	Harrison & Sons	NY	New York
HS	Hodder & Stoughton	OUP	Oxford University Press
ILP	Independent Labour Party	P	Putnam & Co.
J	Jarrolds	PA	Allan (Philip)
K	King (P. S.) & Sons	PB	Penguin Books
KN	Knopf (A. A.), New York	PD	Davies (Peter)
KP	Paul (Kegan), Trench, Trubner & Co.	PP	Pilot Press
L	Lawrence (Martin)	PR	Parsons (L.)
LA	Lane (John), The Bodley Head	pr.	printed
LD	Lovat Dickson	PRIB	People's Russian Infor- mation Bureau
LN	Longmans Green & Co.	R	Routledge (G.) & Sons
LNU	League of Nations Union	RC	Rich & Cowan
LP	Labour Party	repr.	reprinted
LPC	Labour Publishing Co.	RH	Hale (Robert)
LRD	Labour Research Dept.	RILU	Red International of Labour Unions
LW	Lawrence & Wishart	RLC	Russian Liberation Committee
M	Methuen & Co.	RTD	Russian Trade Delega- tion, London
MB	Modern Books	RTS	'Russia To-day' Society
MH	Hopkinson (Martin)	S	Secker (Martin)
MJ	Joseph (Michael)	SB	Selwyn & Blount
ML	Muller (Frederick)	SC	Scribner's (Charles) Sons
MM	Macmillan & Co.		
MU	Murray (John)		

SCR	Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the Soviet Union	TB	Butterworth (Thornton)
		TU	Trades Union
		U	Unwin (Fisher)
		UDC	Union of Democratic Control
SH	Sheed and Ward	ULF	University Labour Federation
SIRB	Socialist Information and Research Bureau, Glasgow	VOKS	All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Abroad, Moscow
SJ	Sidgwick & Jackson		
SL	Low (Sampson), Marston & Co.	W	Wishart Books
SLP	Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow	WI	Witherby (H. F. & G.)
SM	Sweet & Maxwell	WL	Laurie (T. Werner)
SO	Stationery Office	WN	Williams & Norgate
SP	Paul (Stanley) & Co.	WSF	Workers' Socialist Federation
SSS	School of Slavonic Studies, London	YCI	Young Communist International
SW	Secker (Martin) & Warburg	YCL	Young Communist League

I. INTRODUCTION

I. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND GUIDE-BOOKS

a. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

THERE is no good bibliography of books on Soviet Russia—no successor to R. J. KERNER's classic *Slavic Europe: a bibliography* (402 pp. Harvard Univ. Press, 1918). The Osteuropa Institut at Breslau published bibliographies for the years 1920–3 (*Osteuropäische Bibliographie für das Jahr* [1920] [1921] [1922] [1923], 51 pp., 162 pp., 466 pp., 1156 pp.,; 1921, 1923, 1926, 1928), but these omit many English works. A very useful guide to books in Russian and West European languages will be found in the section on 'Russia' (pp. 357–99) in *Foreign Affairs Bibliography. A Selected and Annotated List of Books on International Relations, 1919–1932*. (By W. L. LANGER and H. F. ARMSTRONG. 551 pp. Harper (for the Council on Foreign Relations), NY, 1933). The following partial bibliographies in various languages may be mentioned:

VIKTOROV-TOPOROV, V. *Rossica et Sovietica. Bibliographie des ouvrages parus en français de 1917 à 1930 inclus relatifs à la Russie et à l'URSS*. 180 pp. Saint-Cloud, 1930.

MEHNERT, K. *Die Sovet-Union, 1917–32*. 186 pp. Königsberg, 1933. [List of the 1,900 most important books and articles in German on the Soviet Union.]

YAKOBSON, S., and EPSTEIN, F. 'A List of Books in English on Russia published in 1935.' *Slavonic Review*, xv, 1936–7, pp. 482–90.

MARTIANOV, N. N. [*Catalogue of*] *Books available in English by Russians and on Russia published in the United States*. 48 pp. Privately printed, NY, 1935 (2nd edn., 54 pp., 1936. 3rd edn., 52 pp., 1939).

KARPOVICH, M. 'The Russian Revolution of 1917.' *Journal of Modern History*, ii, 1930, pp. 258–80. [Valuable guide to the original sources, in Russian and other languages, but does not attempt to deal with mere 'eye-witness' accounts.]

Russia. A Select Reading List. 27 pp. Bristol Public Libraries, 1942. [Classified list of books, mainly on Soviet Russia and on Russian literature, available in Bristol libraries.]

There is a good classified bibliography of nearly 500 works in English in A. R. WILLIAMS, *The Soviets* (1937).

Labour Conditions in Soviet Russia (1920) contains a bibliography, 150 pp. long, of great value: it includes books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles published up to April 1920 having particular reference to labour conditions.

A very brief book list, *Soviet Russia* (Leaflet 139; 2 pp.), compiled by the Economic League, was published by the National Book Council in Dec. 1933. A second edition (4 pp.), compiled by the SCR, was published in May 1942.

b. GUIDE-BOOKS

There is no good modern guide-book to the Soviet Union. The only ones available are the following:

Guide to the Soviet Union. (Issued by VOKS.) 354 pp. State Publ. Co., Moscow, 1925. [General introduction, with detailed descriptions and plans only of the five chief towns—Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, Kiev, and Odessa.]

Führer durch die Sowjetunion. (Issued by VOKS.) 888 pp. Berlin, 1928. [An expanded version of the English Guide, covering the whole Union. The best guide available, though in many particulars now quite out of date.]

A Pocket Guide to the Soviet Union. (Issued by Intourist.) 206 pp. Vneshtorgisdat, Moscow, 1932. [A general guide, without plans or detailed descriptions of towns.]

NEWMAN, E. M. *Seeing Russia.* 396 pp. Funk & Wagnall, NY, 1928. [A travel book, illustrated with over 300 photographs by the author. Mainly Leningrad and Moscow, but also briefly the Volga, Caucasus, Crimea, &c. The author had lived in Russia before the War. (Short bibl., mainly of American books).]

HOLMES, B. *The Traveler's Russia.* 246 pp. P, NY, 1934. [One of a series of travel books on different countries, with

many illustrations. Based on a three weeks' tour of European Russia.]

MOEN, L. *Are you going to Russia?* 264 pp. CH, 1934. [Advice and information of a general character for either tourist or worker in Russia, with lists of useful phrases, &c.]

For descriptions of particular regions, see V. 6, and for the records of visitors to Russia, see III. 1. e.

2. PERIODICALS

a. POLITICAL AND CULTURAL

The following are from the non-Bolshevik standpoint.

The Russia Quarterly. Issued in connection with the Russia Society of Portsmouth. Vols. I¹–III², quarterly, about 40 pp. each number. April 1917–April 1920. [Articles, lectures, translations, &c., mainly by English contributors and from a Liberal (later anti-Bolshevik) standpoint. Of little value.]

United Russia Societies Association. Vol. I only. Proceedings, 1917–18. 261 pp. Nutt, 1919. [Reports of lectures before the Association; some are relevant to the Revolution.]

Twentieth Century Russia and Anglo-Russian Review. Vols. I¹–III³, quarterly. July 1915–Oct. 1917/April 1918. London. [Mainly literary and political articles, by both Englishmen and Russians. (Each number has a section in Russian).]

The Russian Outlook. Vols. I¹–III⁷², weekly. 10 May 1919–18 Sept. 1920. London. [News and articles, mainly of a commercial character, with a few reviews of books.]

The New Russia. Edited by the Russian Liberation Committee. Vols. I¹–III⁴⁶, weekly. 5 Feb. 1920–16 Dec. 1920. London. [Well-informed periodical, with notes, docs., and articles, mainly by Russian exiles; Liberal and strongly anti-Bolshevik in tone.]

Continued as

Russian Life. *A monthly Review of facts and documents relating to the Russian Situation.* Nos. 1-6, monthly. Aug. 1921-March 1922. [A similar periodical, on less ambitious lines.]

The Russian Liberation Committee also issued a weekly four-page *Bulletin* (52 Nos. ; 22 Feb. 1919-21 Feb. 1920), and a number of pamphlets which are referred to elsewhere in this bibliography.

The Slavonic Review. Issued by the London School of Slavonic Studies. Vols. I¹-VI¹⁷, quarterly. 1922-7. London.

Continued as

The Slavonic and East European Review. Vols. VI¹⁸-XVIII⁵², quarterly. 1928-39.

Continued as

The Slavonic Year-Book. Vol. XIX. 1939-40. [Articles, translations, reviews, documents, &c. Very uneven in quality, the later numbers being much more scholarly than the earlier ones. Preserves essentially a Liberal standpoint, but has been much less strongly anti-Bolshevik since about 1935.]

Contemporary Russia, and her relations with her neighbours. Vols. I-II. Oct. 1936-Oct. 1937, quarterly.

Continued as

East Europe and Contemporary Russia. Vol. III¹ only. Spring 1939. [General articles on conditions in contemporary Russia ; violently anti-Bolshevik in tone, with a strong tincture of Ukrainian nationalism.]

Georgica. *A Journal of Georgian and Caucasian Studies.* Vols. I-, twice yearly. 1935-. London. [Non-political and scholarly periodical dealing with early Georgian history and culture.]

The following are written from the Soviet standpoint :

Anglo-Russian News Bulletin. Issued by the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee. Fortnightly, later weekly. 30 June 1927 onwards. [A brief news-sheet, generally of 4 pp., dealing with Anglo-Soviet relations.]

Russia To-day. Issued by the "Russia To-day" Society.

- Monthly. 1927 onwards. [Brief (8-page) propaganda news-sheet, with political and cultural articles.]
- Soviet Culture*. Published by the SCR. Vol. I¹⁻⁵, monthly. Jan.-May 1934. [Illustrated periodical, with brief notes and articles.]
- Soviet Life and Work*. Published by the SCR. Vol. I¹⁻⁴, bimonthly, April/May-Nov. 1938. London. [Illustrated periodical with short articles, notes, &c.]
- The Anglo-Soviet Journal*. Published by the SCR. Vol. I-, quarterly. Jan. 1940-. London. [Excellent illustrated periodical with articles, notes, &c., about Soviet Russia.]

b. ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL

The following represent business interests and connections with Tsarist Russia :

- Russia. A Journal of Anglo-Russian Trade*. Vols. I-III¹, bimonthly, later monthly. Sept. 1916-June/July 1918. [Semi-popular periodical, with well-illustrated short articles of an economic character.]
- The Russian Economist. Journal of the Russian Economic Association in London*. Vols. I-III, quarterly. 1920-3. London. [Long competent articles by business men and economists of the pre-revolutionary period. (Each article is printed in English and Russian.)]
- Anglo-Russian Bulletin*. Issued by the Association of British Creditors of Russia. Nos. 1, 2. April, May 1936. London. Continued as .
- The Russian Review*. Vol. I³, &c. June 1936 onwards. [Notes on Russian economic conditions and indebtedness.]

One may mention also the extremely critical *Monographs* of the London School of Slavonic Studies and the *Memoranda* of the Bureau of Research on Russian Economic Conditions (Birmingham University), which are valuable for the 'thirties. A complete list of both these series will be found in Appendix 3.

The following represent the Soviet point of view :

- Russian Information and Review*. Publ. by the Information Dept. of the Russian Trade Delegation. Vols. I-V, fort-

nightly and later (from 15 Sept. 1922) weekly. 1 Oct. 1921–20 Dec. 1924. London. [Economic information, trading facilities, &c.]

Continued as

Soviet Union Review. Vol. VI. 3 Jan. 1925–2 May 1925, weekly. London.

Succeeded by

Soviet Union Monthly. Vols. I¹–II⁶. Feb. 1926–May 1927, monthly. London.

Commercial Year-Book of the Soviet Union. Compiled and ed. by L. Segal and A. A. Santalov. 452 pp. AU, 1925. [Valuable digest of information.]

Continued as the

Soviet Union Year-Book. Annually. AU, 1926–30. [Its publication was discontinued in 1930.]

Bank for Russian Trade Review. Monthly, Nov. 1927–June 1935. London. [Russian trade and industrial statistics, &c.]

Bulletin of the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce. 1931 onwards. London.

C. SOME FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Many periodicals in English have been published in Russia, for the most part for a propagandist purpose. The best of these are *USSR in Construction* (1931 onwards, monthly), an illustrated and admirably produced periodical, each number of which is devoted to some particular region or topic, the *Moscow Daily News*, and several rather short-lived magazines published by VOKS. There is in addition, on economic matters, *The British-Russian Gazette and Trade Outlook* (1924 onwards).

The American-Russian Institute at New York publishes the *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* (April 1938 onwards) and a supplementary *Bulletin on the Soviet Union*, the latter appearing fortnightly and containing current news and information.

The French equivalent of the *Slavonic Review* was *Le Monde Slave*, a monthly which appeared from Nov./Dec. 1924 to July

1938, when it ceased publication. Paris was also one of the chief centres of the emigré 'White' press.

For periodicals relating to the Russo-German War of 1941-, see below, III. 7. *b*, and for those relating to the Comintern see III. 5. *a*. In general, all English Left-Wing periodicals have devoted much space to Soviet news, and for the years 1917-20 a great deal of information can be gleaned from such obscure and in general short-lived papers as *The Call*, *Data*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Workers' Dreadnought*, &c.

3. HISTORIES OF RUSSIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

The majorities of histories of Russia end at or before the Revolutions of 1917. The only ones that do not are the following :

- PARES, SIR B. *A History of Russia*. 558 pp. CA (US pr.), 1926. 2nd edn. 570 pp. CA (US pr.), 1937. [The best work in English, though laying excessive emphasis on purely political events. A final chapter covers the period 1917-25; the 2nd edn. goes up to 1936, but without any revision of the earlier text. Good general bibliography.]
- VERNADSKY, G. *A History of Russia*. Preface by M. I. Rostovtzeff. 413 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1930. [Good though rather summary text-book, going up to 1929. Excellent bibl., covering all aspects of Russian life.]
- MILIUKOV, P.; SEIGNOBOS, C.; EISENMANN, L.; and others. *Histoire de Russie*. 3 vols. 1415 pp. Paris, 1932. [An oddly proportioned history by competent scholars; the last 150 pp., dealing with the post-revolutionary period, are by Miliukov, and are violently anti-Bolshevik in tone.]
- ECKHARDT, H. VON. *Russia*. Transl. from the German by C. A. Phillips. 711 pp. CA (US pr.), 1932. [A very good general account of Russian history, social life, culture, &c., over half the volume dealing with the post-revolutionary period. Excellent maps and illustrations.]
- Box, P. H. *Russia*. ('Modern States' Series, No. 2.) 150 pp. AS, 1933. [Brief but competent sketch of Russian

history, concentrating on the post-revolutionary period. Sympathetic. Good bibl. of books in English.]

- PARES, SIR B. *Russia*. 256 pp. PB, 1940. 2nd edn. (256 pp.), 1941. 3rd edn. (254 pp.), 1941. [The best introductory work; the Soviet regime, to whose history and characteristics the greater part of the book is devoted, is shown against the background of the old Russia. Brief bibl., and index in 3rd edn. The 2nd and 3rd edns. have been revised to include latest development. (See also his lecture on 'Soviet Russia' in *World Outlook*, by Sir F. WHYTE and others [177 pp. NW, 1939]).]
- WOLFE, L. *A Short History of Russia*. 160 pp. NW, 1942. [Brief popular history, the last 40 pages dealing with the post-revolutionary period.]
- BRIAN CHANINOV, N. *A History of Russia*. Transl. from the French by C. J. Hogarth. 295 pp. DT, 1930. [Good general history up to the death of Nicholas II, but brief and superficial on the revolutionary period.]
- MIRSKY, D. S. *A History of Russia*. (Benn's 6d. Library.) 79 pp. BN, 1927. [Brief scholarly history up to the Revolution.]

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- SHEARWOOD, J. A. *Russia's Story. Being a short popular history of Russia from the earliest times*. 2nd edn. 228 pp. J, 1918. [The additions made in the 2nd edn. (April 1918) are violently anti-Bolshevik and very inaccurate.]
- BALLARD, BRIG.-GEN. C. R. *Russia in Rule and Misrule. A short history*. 241 pp. MU, 1920. [Nearly a third of the volume deals with the events of 1917, when the author was at the front in Russia, but his account is of little value.]
- HEWITT, N. *The Rulers of Russia*. 356 pp. WN, 1924. [Sketch of Russian history from the earliest times to 1922. The last part is of no value.]

No serious attempt has yet been made to write a scholarly history of the Soviet Union, but the following works may be mentioned here :

- COATES, W. P., and Z. K. *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*. 320 pp. AU, 1938. [A partisan but useful

summary of the history of the Union, and an attempt to assess its achievements. Based largely on newspapers and not well proportioned.]

RYKOV, A. I. *Ten Years of Soviet Rule. An economic, social and political survey of the Soviet Government's achievements from 1917 to 1927.* Preface by G. Waddell. 54 pp. LRD (for FSR), 1928. [Report made to the FSR Congress in Moscow in Nov. 1927.]

ARNOT, R. P. *A Short History of the Russian Revolution, from 1905 to the present day.* (New People's Library, vols. 4, 6.) 2 vols. 96, 96 pp. G, 1937. [Brief sketch by an English Communist. Vol. I covers 1905–Feb. 1917, Vol. II from 1917 to 1937.]

DURANTY, W. *Russia Reported.* 384 pp. G, 1934. [A selection made by G. Tuckermann from the despatches of the Moscow Correspondent of the *New York Times*, covering the period 30 Sept. 1921–1 Oct. 1933. Contemporary history as seen by a friendly and well-informed observer.]

The two following books form a category to themselves :

PARES, SIR B. *My Russian Memoirs.* 623 pp. CA, 1931. [Valuable pictures of pre-revolutionary Russia, and some account of the Revolution and of conditions in Siberia in 1919, by one of the most distinguished living students of Russia. Includes a good chapter on the organisation of Russian studies abroad in the twenties.]

TYRKOVA-WILLIAMS, A. *Cheerful Giver. The Life of Harold Williams.* 337 pp. PD, 1935. [The life of the greatest of Russian foreign correspondents (*Daily Chronicle*) by his wife, a leader of the Cadet Party. Useful on the antecedents of the Revolution and the Revolution itself, with a brief account of Denikin's Russia. Strongly anti-Bolshevik in tone.]

II. THE REVOLUTION AND THE CIVIL WAR

1. GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE PERIOD 1917-22

a. HISTORICAL STUDIES

- ARNOT, R. P. *The Russian Revolution. A narrative and a guide for reading.* (Syllabus Series, No. 6.) 36 pp. LRD, 1923. [Very brief outline from the Communist point of view; useful for its references to the material then available.]
- ASTROV, E., and others. *Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution.* Transl. from the German by F. Utley. 2 vols. 586 pp. L, 1928. [Semi-official Soviet history, beginning with the revolutionary movements in about 1900 and running to 1922. It incorporates material provided by many of the participants, so that it has first-hand value.]
- CHAMBERLIN, W. H. *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921.* 2 vols. 511, 556 pp. MM, 1935. [The fullest and most scholarly history in English, though weak in analysis and rather colourless owing to the author's determination to remain impartial. Important docs. are printed in appendices, and there is a very full bibl., mainly of Russian works. (The author was in Russia as a journalist from 1922 onwards.)]
- GORDON, A. *Russian Year. A Calendar of Revolution.* 271 pp. CS, 1935.
- „ *The Russian Civil War: a sketch for a history.* 280 pp. CS, 1937.
- A popular account of the Revolution and Civil War, the first vol. going from Rasputin's murder to the November Revolution, the second from that to the end of the Civil War (1922). Racily written, sympathetic, and rather superficial. Bibl. of books in English.
- GRAEVENITZ, BARON P. *From Autocracy to Bolshevism.* 128 pp. AU, 1918. [General sketch, by a Russian officer of

Liberal views, of the events leading up to the Revolution and of its history to Feb. 1918. Lacks the personal recollections that might give it any independent value.]

History of the Civil War in the USSR. Vol. 1. *The Prelude of the Great Proletarian Revolution (from the beginning of the War to the beginning of October 1917).* Ed. by M. Gorki, V. Molotov, K. Voroshilov, S. Kirov, A. Zhdanov, and J. Stalin. 557 pp. LW, 1937. [A very valuable official history, despite its obvious partisanship. No bibl., but many citations from books and archive material.]

LEVINE, I. D. *The Russian Revolution.* 280 pp. LA (US pr.), 1917. [Short account (written June 1917) of the February Revolution and its antecedents from about 1900 onwards. By an American (Russian born) journalist.]

MINTZ, I. *October 1917 in Russia.* 64 pp. LW, 1940.

„ *How Moscow was won in 1917. A chapter in the history of the Revolution.* 48 pp. LW, 1941.

Two semi-popular studies, giving the official Bolshevik account of events as accepted in the later thirties. (In the first of them, the author achieves the not inconsiderable feat of describing the Bolshevik seizure of power in Oct. without once mentioning Trotsky as a participator.)

OWEN, L. O. *The Russian Peasant Movement, 1906-1917.* Foreword by Sir B. Pares. 267 pp. K, 1937. [An exceptionally valuable study, the greater part of the book dealing with events from the February Revolution to the Land Decree of 26 Oct. 1917 and with Lenin's views on the peasantry. Good bibl. (See also G. PAVLOVSKY, *Agricultural Russia on the Eve of the Revolution* [340 pp. R, 1930], and G. T. ROBINSON, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime* [342 pp. AU, 1932], though both these works stop before the Revolution.)]

PARES, SIR B. *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy. A study of the evidence.* 510 pp. CA, 1939. [A political study of the fall of the monarchy, from the opening of the twentieth century down to the Tsar's abdication and his death. Very useful on the political side, but scarcely touches social history, and from Feb. 1917 onwards is confined to the personal fate of the Tsar. Good bibl. and discussion of the sources.]

- ROSS, E. A. *The Russian Soviet Republic*. 405 pp. AU, 1923. [A short history from the Peace of Brest-Litovsk to the end of 1922, with a sympathetic account of Soviet institutions and society. By an American sociologist with a first-hand knowledge of Russia.]
- TROTSKY, L. *History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk*. 149 pp. AU, 1919. [Brief sketch, dictated during the intervals of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. Covers the period 1 July–31 Dec. 1917, with an epilogue on the signing of the peace in March.]
- „ *History of the Russian Revolution*. Transl. M. Eastman. 3 vols. 512, 360, 438 pp. G, 1932–3. 1 vol. reprint (1295 pp.). G, 1934. [A brilliant account and analysis of the Revolution (March–Nov. 1917) by one of its chief figures. Strongly coloured by the author's own views, and in particular by his disagreements with Stalin.]
- TYRKOVA-WILLIAMS, A. *From Liberty to Brest-Litovsk*. 526 pp. MM, 1919. [Clear and well-informed account of events from March 1917 to March 1918, by a prominent member of the Cadet Party. Strongly anti-Bolshevik.]
- WALSH, E. A. *The Fall of the Russian Empire*. 357 pp. WN, 1928. [Inadequate but interesting and reasonably fair narrative of events up to the November Revolution, which is linked up with Russia's past history. By an American Jesuit scholar who was in Russia in 1921–3, and subsequently in contact with prominent émigrés abroad.]
- WIEDENFELD, K. *The Remaking of Russia*. Transl. from the German by E. and C. Paul. Introd. by Lieut.-Comm. J. M. Kenworthy. 116 pp. LPC, 1924. [A good account of how Russia recovered from the Civil War, and of Bolshevik institutions and organisation.]

b. DOCUMENTS

The most valuable selections of documents are those in the following four volumes, which are made up from official documents, extracts from diaries and memoirs, newspaper articles, &c.; the editing is excellent in each case.

- GOLDER, F. A. *Documents of Russian History, 1914-1917*. Transl. E. Aronsberg. (Century Historical Series.) 668 pp. Century Co., NY, 1927. [To Oct. 1917.]
- BUNYAN, J., and FISHER, H. H. *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1918. Documents and Materials*. (Hoover War Library Publications, No. 3.) 735 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1934. [Oct. 1917-April 1918.]
- BUNYAN, J. *Intervention, Civil War and Communism in Russia, April-December 1918. Documents and Materials*. 594 pp. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1936. [April 1918-Dec. 1918.]
- GANKIN, O. H., and FISHER, H. H. *The Bolsheviks and the World War: the Origins of the Third International*. (Hoover War Library Publications, No. 15.) 856 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1940. [Early history of the Party, the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences, the preparations for the Stockholm Conference, &c.; to Nov. 1917.]

To these must be added the volumes of *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* for the years 1918 and 1919, since these contain not only diplomatic correspondence but also the full text of many documents of purely domestic importance which were transmitted to Washington by the American representatives in Russia. The volumes are as follows :

- Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918. Russia*. (Publications of the Dept. of State.) 3 vols. 754, 887, 330 pp. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1931-2. [These vols. cover the period from the February Revolution to the end of 1918. Vol. I deals with 'Political Affairs and Diplomatic Relations', Vol. II with 'Disintegration and Foreign Intervention', and Vol. III with 'Economic Relations'.]
- Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919. Russia*. (Dept. of State.) 807 pp. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, 1937. [Similar collection covering the whole of 1919.]

The series of Russian documents are continued in the volumes for 1920 (Vol. III. 823 pp. 1936), 1921 (Vol. II. 973 pp.

1936), and 1922 (Vol. II. 1042 pp. 1938), though for these years there is of course much less material and it is of less importance.

An unofficial collection of documents of the same character is a volume published by the 'League of Free Nations' Association: *Russian-American Relations, March 1917-March 1920*. Documents and papers, compiled and ed. by C. K. Cumming and W. W. Pettit (375 pp. Harcourt, NY, 1920).

Two French collections may also be mentioned :

Le Coup d'état bolchéviste, 23 oct.-3 déc. 1917. Rec. de docs. relatifs à la prise du pouvoir par les Bolchévistes, réunis, traduits et annotés par S. Oldenbourg. 528 pp. Paris, 1929. [Useful and well-edited collection.]

LABRY, L. *Une Législation communiste. Recueil des lois, décrets, arrêtés principaux du gouvernement bolchéviste*. 590 pp. Paris 1920. [Valuable and well-arranged collection of material illustrating all aspects of Soviet legislation and administration. (The author left Russia in Jan. 1918, but later material is used.)]

A summary list of decrees, administrative decisions, &c., compiled by A. HOICHBURG and running to 24 Sept. 1918, will be found in *A Year in Soviet Russia. Brief account of the legislative work of 1917-18*. (16 pp. PRIB, 1919.)

Other collections of documents, dealing with particular aspects of intervention, the events leading up to the Revolution, &c., will also be found listed in II. 4. a and V. 1. f. For the contemporary writings of Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, and other major figures, see III. 8, 9, 10, and 11 ; a useful selection of Lenin's writings during 1917 will be found in V. I. LENIN and J. STALIN, *The Russian Revolution* (q.v.). See also certain of the Parliamentary Papers listed in Appendix 2, notably *A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia* (1919, Cmd. 8) and the Emmott Report (*Report of the Committee to collect information on Russia*, 1921, Cmd. 1240).

C. INTERPRETATIONS

The majority of the smaller contemporary books and pamphlets on the Revolution can best be regarded as propaganda for

or against intervention, or as propaganda for or against an extension of Bolshevism to other countries, and these will be found below in II. 6. The following are more scholarly works which are best included here :

PETRUNKEVITCH, A. ; HARPER, S. N. ; and GOLDER, F. A. *The Russian Revolution*. 109 pp. Harvard Univ. Press, 1918. [Three studies by experts : ' The role of the intellectuals in the liberating movement in Russia ' (Petrunkévitch) ; ' The forces behind the Russian Revolution ' (Harper) ; ' The Russian Revolution ' (Golder). The last of these contains an account of the Feb. rising in Petrograd.]

ANTONELLI, E. *Bolshevist Russia. A philosophical survey*. Transl. from the French. 277 pp. SP, 1920. [A contemporary study of outstanding merit on account of the knowledge and fair-mindedness of its author. Analysis of the principles and methods of the Bolshevik regime, including many documents. (Many misprints.)]

KORFF, BARON S. A. *Autocracy and Revolution in Russia*. 161 pp. MM, 1923. [Lectures, dealing mainly with the antecedents of the Revolution, delivered in 1922.]

SOROKIN, P. A. *The Sociology of Revolution*. 428 pp. Lippincott (US pr.), 1925. [A study of revolutions in general and the Bolshevik Revolution in particular ; largely an attack on them on the ground that they involve a complete breakdown in public and private morality. By a Professor of Sociology at Petrograd who was expelled from Russia in 1922.]

MEYENDORFF, BARON A. *The Background of the Russian Revolution*. 193 pp. Bell, 1929. [Three lectures, delivered at Brown University in 1928, by a former member of the Duma. (Good refs.)]

STEPUN, F. *The Russian Soul and Revolution*. Transl. E. Huntress. 184 pp. SC (US pr.), 1936. [Philosophical (semi-mystical) interpretation of the Revolution by an exiled Russian intellectual.]

2. FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS

a. OFFICIALS OF THE IMPERIAL AND
PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENTS

For members of the Imperial family and the aristocracy who did not occupy any important official position, see the next subsection. (The list includes the memoirs of only a few Tsarist officials, for these, where they exist at all, usually stop before the February Revolution, or are more suitably classed under 'Intervention and Civil War'; for the latter, see II. 4.)

BRUSSILOV GEN. A. A. *A Soldier's Notebook, 1914-1918*. 340 pp. MM, 1930. [Practically confined to military affairs, and very brief, but occasionally throws a little light on the events of 1917.]

GOURKO, GEN. B. *Memories and Impressions of War and Revolution in Russia*. 347 pp. MU, 1918. [Also mainly important for earlier military history, and reticent on the revolutionary period. (The author was Commander-in-Chief of the Western Armies from March to June 1917, was arrested and imprisoned on 4 August, and left for England on 15 Oct.)]

DENIKIN, A. I. *The Russian Turmoil*. 344 pp. HN, 1922. [A prejudiced but useful and informative account of public and military affairs between March and Sept. 1917.]

NIKITINE, B. V. *The Fatal Years*. Transl. from the French. 312 pp. HO, 1938. [Mainly affairs at Petrograd in March-Aug. 1917, as seen by the head of the counter-espionage bureau. A violent attack on the Bolsheviks, whom he accuses of having been bought by Germany.]

POLOVTSOFF, GEN. P. A. *Glory and Downfall. Reminiscences of a Russian General Staff Officer*. 363 pp. Bell, 1935. [Mainly deals with the war and revolutionary periods up to the author's escape to Persia in 1918. Important for the Kornilov rebellion and conditions in the Caucasus.]

ROSEN, BARON R. *Forty Years of Diplomacy*. 2 vols. 315, 309 pp. AU, 1922. [The last part deals briefly with the years 1917-18, and is of some little value with regard

to the views of the Russian Foreign Office. General comments, with little personal narrative.]

NEKLUDOFF, A. *Diplomatic Reminiscences before and during the World War, 1911-1917*. Transl. from the French by A. Paget. 539 pp. MU, 1920. [Includes briefly the events of 1917 (to Sept. 12) as seen from the Russian embassies at Stockholm and Madrid.]

[SCHELKING, E. VON.] *The Game of Diplomacy*. By a European Diplomat. 256 pp. HN, 1918. [Mainly diplomacy and political history in the years before the War, by a Russian political journalist, but includes some comments on the February Revolution, during which the author was in Petrograd.]

NABOKOFF, C. *The Ordeal of a Diplomat*. 320 pp. D, 1921. [Rather scrappy memoirs of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires in London (Jan. 1917-Sept. 1919); during the latter part of this period he represented the Omsk Government.]

KERENSKY, A. F. *The Prelude to Bolshevism. The Kornilov Rebellion*. 318 pp. U, 1919. [Translation, heavily annotated by Kerensky, of the stenographic record of his examination by the Commission of Inquiry over the Kornilov affair.]

„ *The Catastrophe*. 377 pp. AP, 1927. [His account of the period from the February Revolution up to his own flight in Oct.]

„ *The Crucifixion of Liberty*. 368 pp. BA, 1934. [Recapitulates much of the material in the previous volume, but deals also with the antecedents of the Revolution back to the last century.]

b. PRIVATE PERSONS (RUSSIAN AND
NON-BOLSHEVIK)

CYRIL, GRAND DUKE. *My Life in Russia's Service—Then and Now*. 286 pp. SB, 1939. [His memoirs only run to the Revolution, on which he says nothing of importance; an epilogue describes his life in exile. His various manifestoes as head of the Romanov dynasty are printed in an appendix.]

- ALEXANDER, GRAND DUKE. *Once a Grand Duke*. 384 pp. CS, 1932. [His memoirs up to 1920, with brief personal recollections from the February Revolution to March 1919 and comments on intervention. (His later history is told in *Always a Grand Duke*. 299 pp. Farrar and Rinehart, NY, 1938.)]
- MARIE, GRAND DUCHESS. *Things I remember*. Transl. from the French and Russian under the editorial supervision of R. Lord. 388 pp. CS, 1930. [The last quarter of the volume deals with her life and that of her circle from the February Revolution to her escape from Russia early in 1918.]
- PALEY, PRINCESS. *Memories of Russia, 1916-1919*. 320 pp. HJ, 1924. [Personal memoirs, by the widow of the Grand Duke Paul, from 1916 to her departure from Russia in Feb. 1919. Much information about the fate of members of the Imperial family and the aristocracy.]
- MAJOLIER, N. *Stepdaughter of Imperial Russia*. 259 pp. SP, 1940. [Autobiography of a stepdaughter of the Grand Duke Michael, including her personal recollections of the Revolution up to the end of 1918.]
- BUXHOEVDEN, BARONESS S. *Left Behind*. 182 pp. WN, 1929. [Recollections of the period Dec. 1917—Feb. 1919, by one of the Tsarina's ladies-in-waiting. (She was with the Imperial family up to May 1918, and subsequently with the Whites in Siberia.)]
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- MEYENDORFF, BARONESS (STELLA ARBENINA). *Through Terror to Freedom. The dramatic story of an Englishwoman's life and adventures in Russia before, during and after the Revolution*. 288 pp. HN, 1930. [Mainly personal recollections of the period March 1917—Aug. 1919, first in Petrograd and later in Estonia.]
- WOLKONSKY, PRINCESS P. *The Way of Bitterness. Soviet Russia, 1920*. Introd. by J. Buchan. 212 pp. M, 1931. [Account of her return to Russia in 1920 to win the release of her husband from prison, and their departure into exile.]
- WOLKONSKY, PRINCE S. *My Reminiscences*. Transl. A. E. Chamot. 2 vols. 818, 276 pp. HN, 1925. [The auto-

biography of a distinguished man of letters who left Russia in 1921 ; the last part is interesting on cultural conditions after the Revolution.]

CANTACUZÈNE, PRINCESS. *Revolutionary Days. Recollections of Romanoffs and Bolsheviks, 1914-1917.* 411 pp. CH, 1920. [Personal recollections covering the war and the revolutionary period to the autumn of 1917, when she left Russia. (She was American by birth.)]

BARIATINSKY, PRINCESS A. M. *My Russian Life.* 351 pp. HN, 1923. [Her autobiography ; the last fifty pages cover her experiences in the Revolution (mainly at Kiev) up to her departure in Dec. 1918.]

YOURIEVSKY, PRINCESS C. *My Book. Some Pages from my Life.* 120 pp. NG, 1924. [Nearly half the book deals with her life in Russia during 1918.]

CASTELLANE, COUNT B. V. DE. *One Crowded Hour. An Autobiography.* Introd. by L. S. Palen. 285 pp. AU, 1934. [Autobiography of a Ukrainian nobleman, including his experiences between 1917 and his escape from Russia in 1920.]

KOROSTOVETZ, V. *Seed and Harvest.* Transl. from the German by D. Lumby. 387 pp. F, 1931. [The life of a Foreign Office official and his family in the Ukraine before and during the Revolution (to late 1919.) Very valuable for Ukrainian conditions in 1918-19.]

WORONOFF, O. *Upheaval.* Introd. by B. Tarkington. 226 pp. HN, 1932. [Memoirs of a lady in close touch with the Imperial family ; mainly devoted to the war and revolutionary periods (to 1920). (Her husband was an officer on the Imperial yacht.)]

MASLOV, S. S. *Russia after Four Years of Revolution.* 237 pp. K (France pr.), 1923. [Recollections of the period 1917-21 by a Petrograd professor who left in 1921. Violently anti-Bolshevik ; extremely interesting on the general breakdown of civilised life in the capital.]

SOROKIN, P. *Leaves from a Russian Diary.* 310 pp. HB, 1925. [Reminiscences of a Petrograd professor from the February Revolution to his departure from Russia in Sept. 1922, partly in the form of diary extracts. Very hostile

(the author was often in prison), but valuable on the fate of the intelligentsia.]

SKARIATINA, I. (MRS V. F. BLAKESLEE). *A World can end.* 351 pp. CA, 1931. [Mainly a diary of life in and near Petrograd from 5 March 1917 to 25 Feb. 1918, with recollections of her earlier life and subsequent events up to her leaving Russia in 1922.]

WONLAR-LARSKY, N. *The Russia that I loved.* 205 pp. Elsie MacSwinney, 1937. [Memoirs up to her escape from Russia in 1920, but confined to personal experiences and very brief on the revolutionary period.]

WHITE, D. F. *Survival through War and Revolution in Russia.* 395 pp. OUP (US pr.), 1939. [Personal memoirs of a Russian naval officer during the war and revolutionary periods (to 1921). Includes life at Petrograd and with the fleet in 1917 (diary from 13 March to 25 June), service with Kolchak in 1919, and life in Siberia and Moscow under the Bolsheviks in 1920-1. Valuable.]

BOLESŁAWSKI, R. (In collaboration with H. WOODWARD.)

The Way of a Lancer. 318 pp. CS, 1932.

Lances Down. 296 pp. GG, 1933.

Vivid personal recollections of a Polish lancer in the Russian army, the first vol. describing his personal history during the break-up of the army in the spring and summer of 1917, the second the fighting in Moscow during the October Revolution. (No dates, and imaginary dialogue.)

KOURNAKOFF, S. *Savage Squadrons.* 360 pp. HA (US pr.), 1935. [Includes a little about the break-up of the army (to Aug. 1917.)]

BOTCHARSKY, S., and PIER, F. *They knew how to die. Being a narrative of the personal experiences of a Red Cross Sister on the Russian Front.* 311 pp. PD, 1931. [Mainly an extraordinarily vivid account of life with the army earlier in the War, but covers also the February Revolution and the break-up of the army.]

BOTCHKAREVA, M. *Yashka. My life as peasant, exile and soldier.* As set down by I. D. Levine. 339 pp. C, 1919. [The memoirs of the commander of the 'Russian Women's Battalion of Death', dealing largely with her experiences

in the revolutionary period. (She left Russia in April 1918.) Very anti-Bolshevik in outlook.]

YURLOVA, M. *Cossack Girl*. 312 pp. CS, 1934. [Personal recollections of army life in the Caucasus and later in Siberia from 1915 to 1919. (The sequel, *Russia, Farewell* [288 pp. MJ, 1936], deals with her life and that of other White émigrés in the Far East.)]

KAREL, L. *Under Five Eagles. My Life in Russia, Poland, Austria, Germany and America, 1919-1936*. 332 pp. P, 1937. [Personal experiences in Russia from 1916 to spring 1918; also relief work at Warsaw for Russians, Jews, &c., in 1919-20, and later contacts with Isadora Duncan and Essenin.]

MIKHELSON, A. L. *A schoolboy caught in the Russian Revolution. The record of a nightmare adolescence*. Transl. J. Cournos. 281 pp. P, 1935. [The life of a boy from the October Revolution to his departure to join his emigré father in Estonia in Dec. 1919.]

ALMEDINGEN, E. M. *Tomorrow will come*. 307 pp. LA, 1941. [Memoirs of a Russian of partly English descent, covering her childhood and life up to Sept. 1922, when she left Russia. Deals only with her personal life, but very valuable for conditions in Petrograd during the Civil War period.]

RACHMANOVA, A. *Flight from Terror. An Autobiography*. Transl. from the German by I. Zeitlin. 318 pp. SH, 1933. [Diary of a girl university student from Sept. 1916 to Sept. 1920; introspective and religious, confined to her own affairs and sufferings and those of her family. (Her subsequent life in Vienna in 1925-7 is related in *My Milkshop in Vienna*. Transl. K. Kirkness. 287 pp. HB, 1934.)]

PTASCHKINA, N. *The Diary of Nelly Ptaschkina*. Transl. by P. de Chary. 316 pp. CA, 1923. [Very introspective diary of a girl in her 'teens, covering the period Jan. 1918-20 (Moscow, Kiev, and escape to Paris).]

C. BOLSHEVIKS AND LEFT-WING POLITICIANS

The memoirs of Bolsheviks and of others who collaborated with them are few in number and, with a few outstanding

exceptions, not of great importance. The following list includes such as are available in English and are not mentioned elsewhere in this bibliography; it also includes such articles and pronouncements by Bolshevik leaders as are not classified elsewhere. See also II. 1 and III. 5, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

- BALABANOFF, A. *My Life as a Rebel*. 358 pp. HH, 1938. [The memoirs of the (Russian born) leader of the Italian Socialist Party; includes her associations with Lenin and other leaders, and her work in Russia 1917-21. (She was expelled from the Party in 1924.)]
- BRESHKOVSKAIA, K. *Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution. Personal Memoirs*. Ed. L. Hutchinson. 369 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1931. [The recollections of the 'Grand-mother of the Revolution', mainly of events in the last century and quite inadequate on her brief return to Russia and her relations with the Provisional Govt. in 1917.]
- ILYIN-GENEVSKY, A. F. *From the February Revolution to the October Revolution, 1917*. 122 pp. MB, 1931. [Personal memoirs of the period (mainly at Petrograd), by a former official at the Commissariat of War.]
- KOUDREY, V. *Once a Commissar*. 319 pp. HH, 1938. [Personal and rather trivial memoirs of the revolutionary period up to 1924, when the author, who was attached to Krassin's staff abroad, abandoned the regime.]
- STEINBERG, I. *Souvenirs d'un Commissaire du Peuple, 1917-18*. Trad. d'après la version allemande par J. Frégier. 253 pp. Paris, 1930. [Hostile but very valuable memoirs from the October Revolution to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, by a Social-Revolutionary lawyer who was Commissar of Justice for a time in 1917-18.]
- „ *Spiridonova, Revolutionary Terrorist*. 313 pp. M, 1936. [Biography of the most famous of the terrorists, subsequently leader of the Social Revolutionaries; the last third of the book covers her relations with the Bolsheviks in the Revolution and afterwards (to 1930).]
- TCHERNOFF, O. *New Horizons. Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution*. 287 pp. HN, 1936. [The memoirs of the wife of the Social-Revolutionary leader V. M. Chernov]

from March 1918 to Oct. 1920. Valuable for the opposition to the Bolsheviks and the early history of the Cheka. (Her husband's memoirs for the same period are available in French: *Mes tribulations en Russie soviétique* [87 pp. Paris, 1922]. See also his book *The Great Russian Revolution* [Transl. and abridged by P. E. Mosely. 466 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1936].]

KAMENEFF, L. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. 15 pp. CP, 1920. [Article dated June 1920.]

KOLLONTAI, A. *The Activity of the Russian People's Commissariat for Social Welfare*. [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.

LUNACHARSKI, A. *Self-Education of the Workers*. 7 pp. WSF, 1919. [On educational progress.]

PREOBRAZHENSKY, E. *Third Anniversary of the Russian Revolution*. 29 pp. Union Publ. Co., Glasgow, 1921. [Sketch of the history of the period.]

SHAUMYAN, S. *Bolshevik Smugglers. An incident in the Civil War*. 35 pp. MB (USSR pr), 1932. [Smuggling petrol to the Bolsheviks in 1919.]

SHUMIATSKI, B. *The Aims of the Bolsheviks. (Addendum to the Party Programme)*. 16 pp. PRIB, 1919. [Pamphlet written early 1919, explaining the Party.]

d. ALLIED EMBASSIES AND MISSIONS

A. English

BUCHANAN, SIR G. *My Mission to Russia, and other diplomatic memories*. 2 vols. 253, 280 pp. CS, 1923. [The memoirs of the British Ambassador up to his departure from Russia on 8 Jan. 1918. Very valuable, with long extracts from his diary.]

BUCHANAN, M. *Petrograd, the City of Trouble, 1914-1918*. 282 pp. CO, 1918. [Life at Petrograd up to Jan. 1918, mainly during the revolutionary period, by the daughter of the British ambassador.]

„ *Diplomacy and Foreign Courts*. 288 pp. HN, 1928. [A sketch of her father's life, vigorously defending

his conduct at the time of the Revolution. Violently anti-Bolshevik in tone.]

BUCHANAN, M. *The Dissolution of an Empire*. 312 pp. MU, 1932. [Memoirs of her life in Russia from 1910 onwards, covering much the same ground as her *Petrograd, City of Trouble*, and with some final hostile comments on Bolshevism. (Her *Recollections of Imperial Russia* [277 pp. HN, 1923] consists of sketches of earlier Russian history, with a brief attack on 'the spirit of Bolshevism'.)]

LOCKHART, R. H. BRUCE. *Memoirs of a British Agent*. 355 pp. P, 1932. [Mainly devoted to his life as Vice-Consul in Moscow from 1911 onwards; after Buchanan's departure he remained in charge of British interests till he himself left in October 1918. He was in close touch with the Bolshevik leaders, and his memoirs are of quite exceptional interest.]

The Russian Diary of an Englishman. Petrograd, 1915-1917. 228 pp. H, 1918. [The author (apparently connected with the British Embassy) was in close touch with court circles, and the diary goes up to its author's departure from Russia on 16 Sept. 1917. Very hostile to Rasputin and to all popular movements.]

KNOX, MAJOR-GEN. SIR A. *With the Russian Army, 1914-1917*. 2 vols. 760 pp. HN, 1921. [The second half of Vol. II deals with events from the February Revolution to 7 Jan. 1918, as seen by a British military attaché.]

HANBURY-WILLIAMS, MAJOR-GEN. SIR J. *The Emperor Nicholas II as I knew him*. 271 pp. Humphreys, 1922. [The diary, from 1914 to 20 April 1917, of the chief of the British Military Mission in Russia; valuable for its sketches of the Tsar and other personalities, and for the reaction of Military H.Q. to current events.—Much the same ground is covered in the memoirs of Brig.-Gen. W. H.-H. Waters, '*Secret and Confidential*'. *The experiences of a military attaché* (888 pp. MU, 1926), but he unfortunately left Russia just before the Revolution.]

HOARE, SIR S. *The Fourth Seal*. 377 pp. H, 1930. [Recollections of a general character; uninformative and lacking

in precise information. The author was in Russia in 1916 and 1917. Strongly anti-Bolshevik in outlook.]

DUKES, SIR P. *Red Dusk and the Morrow. Adventures and investigations in Red Russia.* 312 pp. WN, 1922. [Rather sketchy account of adventures and observations by a British Secret Service agent in Russia in 1919-20.]

„ *The Story of 'ST. 25'. Adventure and romance in the Secret Intelligence Service in Red Russia.* 380 pp. CS, 1938. [An amplification of his earlier account, which had been necessarily reticent on many points out of regard for the safety of persons then living.]

BLAIR, D., and DAND, C. H. *Russian Hazard. The Adventures of a British Secret Service Agent in Russia.* 288 pp. Hale, 1937. [A highly sensational record of adventures up to 1922—contacts with Rasputin, projects to murder Lenin and Trotsky, sabotage behind the Bolshevik lines, relations with the Cheka, &c.]

B. French

PALÉOLOGUE, M. *An Ambassador's Memoirs.* Transl. F. A. Holt. 3 vols. 350, 320, 346 pp: HN, 1923-25. [The diary—probably to some extent 'revised'—of the French ambassador; Vol. I covers July 1914—2 June 1915, Vol. II covers 3 June 1915—18 August 1916, and Vol. III covers 19 August 1916—17 May 1917. An invaluable source owing to the author's contacts with court circles and with various parties in the Duma.]

NOULENS, J. *Mon ambassade en Russie soviétique, 1917-1919.* 2 vols. 259, 300 pp. Paris, 1932. [The memoirs of Paléologue's successor, from June 1917 to the end of 1918. Strongly prejudiced and often inaccurate—the author knew little of Russian affairs, and disliked the Provisional Govt. as much as he did the Bolsheviks—but of great value.]

SADOUL, CAPT. J. *Notes sur la Révolution bolchevique.* Préface de H. Barbusse. 465 pp. Paris, 1919. [A long series of letters to Albert Thomas—a few to other correspondents—from 15 Oct. 1917 to 1 Sept. 1918, by a Socialist member of the French Military Mission who was in full sympathy with the Bolshevik revolution. Of great interest. (Part

of his letter of 25 July 1918 was published as a pamphlet in England: *The Socialist Soviet Republic of Russia. Its Rise and Organisation*. 19 pp. TRIB, 1919.)]

SADOUL, CAPT. J. *Quarante lettres de Jacques Sadoul*. 126 pp. Paris, 1922. [A supplement to the former collection.]

C. American

FRANCIS, D. R. *Russia from the American Embassy, April 1916–November 1918*. 361 pp. Scribner, NY, 1921. [The memoirs of the American ambassador, covering his period of residence in Russia (23 April 1916–6 Nov. 1918) and the early months of 1919, and incorporating many letters, despatches, &c.]

HARD, W. *Raymond Robins' Own Story*. 248 pp. Harper, NY, 1920. [Col. Robins was in Russia in charge of a Red Cross mission from July 1917 to June 1918, and became virtually unofficial representative of his ambassador in negotiations with the Bolshevik leaders. His memoirs, as told to Mr. Hard in 1919, are consequently of great value. (The book itself is also a violent attack on intervention.)]

HOUGHTLING, J. L. *Diary of the Russian Revolution*. 195 pp. Century, NY, 1918. [Diary covering the February Revolution, as seen from the American embassy.]

BULLITT, W. C. *The Bullitt Mission to Russia: testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate*. 11 pp. Huebsch, NY, 1919. [The story of the Bullitt Mission, sent by President Wilson to Russia in March 1919.]

SISSON, E. G. *One Hundred Red Days, 25 Nov. 1917–4 March 1918. A personal chronicle of the Bolshevik Revolution*. 502 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1931. [Very hostile memoirs of his visit to Russia on behalf of the U.S. Committee on Public Information; valuable on account of his contacts and some of the material he prints. (Includes a facsimile of the 1918 edn. of *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*—the notorious 'Sisson Documents'—which he obtained in Russia and which 'proved' the relations of the Bolshevik leaders with the German General Staff.)]

The speeches made by members of the Special Diplomatic Mission sent by Wilson in May 1917 are collected in *America's*

Message to the Russian People (154 pp. Marshall Jones, Boston, 1918); those by Elihu Root will also be found in E. Root, *The United States and the War. The Mission to Russia. Political Addresses* (Coll. and ed. by R. Bacon and J. B. Scott. 362 pp. Harvard Univ. Press, 1918). One may also mention H. HAGEDORN, *The Magnate. William Boyce Thompson and His Time, 1869-1930* (343 pp. Day, NY, 1935), the life of an American financier who was with Robins in Russia and favoured his policy of co-operating with the Bolsheviks, and LINCOLN STEFFENS' *Autobiography* (2 vols. 884 pp. HA [US pr.], 1931), which includes his visits to Russia between the two Revolutions in 1917 and with the Bullitt Mission in 1919.

e. FOREIGN RESIDENTS

JONES, S. *Russia in Revolution: being the experiences of an Englishman in Petrograd during the upheaval.* 279 pp. HJ, 1917. [An eyewitness account, by a man who had long lived in Russia, of events in Petrograd from March 10th to 24th, 1917.]

COLQUHOUN, J. *Adventures in Red Russia, from the Black Sea to the White Sea.* 193 pp. MU (for private circulation), 1926. [Life of an English engineer in the Caucasus from the end of 1916 to his departure from Russia in June 1918.]

OUDENDIJK, W. J. *Ways and By-ways in Diplomacy.* 386 pp. PD, 1939. [Autobiography of a distinguished Dutch diplomat, including his experiences as Dutch Minister in Petrograd during the Revolution (to Nov. 1918). Important for general conditions and for life and views in diplomatic circles; very hostile to the Bolshevik regime.]

From a Russian Diary, 1917-1920. By an Englishwoman. 266 pp. MU, 1921. [Rather irregularly kept diary, mainly of events in and around Moscow, from 14 Nov. 1917 to 12 March 1920. Uninteresting save as showing the extreme unreliability of rumour.]

URCH, R. O. G. '*We generally shoot Englishmen.*' *An English schoolmaster's years of mild adventure in Moscow (1915-1920).* 300 pp. AU, 1930. [Personal recollections, interesting for the miseries of the intelligentsia and for his contacts with the Cheka.]

SHELLEY, G. *The Speckled Domes. Episodes of an Englishman's life in Russia.* 256 pp. D, 1925. [Personal recollections of an Englishman who went to Russia as the guest of Count Torloff in 1918 and remained there till 1920.]

„ *The Blue Steppes. Adventures among the Russians.* 268 pp. Hamilton, 1925. [Rambling sketches of some of his experiences.]

GIBSON, W. J. *Wild Career. My crowded years of adventure in Russia and the Near East.* 288 pp. HA, 1935. [Includes rather scrappy accounts of his adventures during the Revolution (interesting on the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks) and afterwards—chiefly relations with the Trade Delegation at Reval and visits to Georgia in the early twenties. By a Russian-born Englishman who served in the Russian army during the War.]

KEELING, H. V. *Bolshevism. Mr. Keeling's five years in Russia.* 212 pp. HS, 1919. [Mainly deals with conditions of life as they affected the author, a working photographer and mechanic who was in Russia from 1914 to Jan. 1919. (He was also the author of the anonymous article and pamphlet, *Bolshevism as it is: the story of an eye-witness.* [8 pp. Westminster Gazette, 1919], criticising the regime and warning British workers against it.)]

DANIEL, W. *Russia, 1918. Bolshevism in Practice.* 56 pp. Privately pr. (Stockport), 1919. [Account of his experiences in 1917–18 by an English business man—attempts to cope with factory committees, and life in prison after the attempted assassination of Lenin.]

Woman under Fire. Six months in the Red Army. A Woman's diary and experiences of revolutionary Russia. Foreword by R. J. Dingle. 286 pp. HN, 1930. [Diary of life in a women's battalion from June to Dec. 1921, with some account of Soviet life and conditions in the early 'twenties. By a Russian-born Englishwoman who left Russia in 1923. Of little value.]

A little about the Revolutionary period will also be found in the *Memoirs of James Whishaw* (Ed. M. S. Leigh. 308 pp.

M, 1935), the rather rambling recollections of an Anglo-Russian business man. Interesting sketches of life in Petrograd and elsewhere in 1916-17 will be found in N. FARSON's autobiography, *The Way of a Transgressor* (639 pp. G, 1936).

f. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

A. English

WILCOX, E. H. *Russia's Ruin*. 316 pp. CH, 1919. [General account of the events of the Revolution, to the end of 1917. By the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent.]

WILTON, R. *Russia's Agony*. 356 pp. AR, 1918. [Long introduction about conditions in Russia, where the author had lived for 14 years. Useful on the July Offensive. Goes to the end of 1917. By the *Times* correspondent.]

PRICE, M. P. *My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution*. 402 pp. AU, 1921. [Covers the period of his residence in Russia (March 1917-Dec. 1918) and, rather sketchily, 1919. Very valuable, since the author (correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*) travelled widely in Russia, and his Left Wing sympathies ensured him important contacts. (His pamphlet, *Capitalist Europe and Socialist Russia* [81 pp. BSP, 1919], is a general explanation and defence of the Bolshevik regime; it is dated from Moscow, Dec. 1918. See also his two further pamphlets, *The Origin and Growth of the Russian Soviets* [24 pp. TRIB, 1919], written in April 1919 and explaining the institution of Soviets, and *The Truth about the Allied Intervention in Russia* [16 pp. Moscow, 1918. 2nd edn. 22 pp. WSF, 1919].)

RANSOME, A. M. *Six Weeks in Russia in 1919*. 150 pp. AU, 1919. [Mainly a journal of a visit to Petrograd and Moscow in Feb.-March 1919. Includes interviews with Lenin and other political leaders, the chief 'intellectuals' &c. Valuable. (See also his article in *The Liberator* on the Revolution, printed separately as a pamphlet: *The Truth about Russia*. 19 pp. WSF, 1919).]

„ *The Crisis in Russia*. 152 pp. AU, 1921. [A sympathetic statement of Russia's difficulties. Based mainly on a visit in the winter and spring of 1919-20.]

GOODE, W. T. *Bolshevism at Work*. 142 pp. AU, 1920. [Sympathetic studies of life in Russia, based on a visit in July–August 1919 on behalf of the *Manchester Guardian*. Includes interviews with Lenin, Chicherin, and other leaders.]

G. SELDES's book, *The Truth behind the News, 1918–1928* (355 pp. F, 1929), contains a number of anecdotes from the period of his assignment in Russia in the early twenties, but there are no dates and usually there is no possibility of checking their accuracy.

B. French

(‘ANET, C.’ [SCHOFFER, J.]. *Through the Russian Revolution*. 253 pp. HN, 1917. [Daily notes of events by a French eyewitness, first at Petrograd and later with the army, from 17 March to 30 May 1917. Very useful; the author had contacts with the Provisional Govt. (= English transl. of Vol. I of *La Révolution russe* [332 pp. Paris, 1917]. Three more vols. followed in French; Vol. II [281 pp.; 1918] covers June–Nov. 1917, Vol. III [245 pp.; 1919] covers Nov. 1917–Jan. 1918, and Vol. IV [280 pp.; 1919] covers Jan.–June 1918. The author left Murmansk in June 1918.)]

VAUCHER, R. *L'Enfer bolchévik*. 434 pp. Paris, 1919. [Diary of events (mainly at Petrograd) from 17 April to 20 Sept. 1918, by the correspondent of *L'Illustration*. Violently anti-Bolshevik; useful for its author's contacts with Social Revolutionaries and other opposition groups.]

MARCHAND, R. *Why I support Bolshevism*. Transl. from the French by E. and C. Paul. 64 pp. BSP, 1919. [An account, by the correspondent of *Figaro*, of how his experience in the Revolution led him to support Bolshevism. Completed April 1919.]

C. American

REED, J. *Ten Days that Shook the World*. 322 pp. MB, 1926. L, 1934. [Mainly a record of what the author saw and recorded of events at Petrograd in 1917, with a brief introduction on the preliminaries of the Revolution. Includes many documents and proclamations. Very important;

the author was whole-heartedly in sympathy with the Bolsheviks, and in the closest touch with their leaders. Two of his articles in *The Liberator* were repr. in England as pamphlets, *Red Russia*, Books I and II (21, 31 pp. WSF, 1919); the first is a vivid sketch of the October Revolution, the second deals with the formation of the Red Army. (See also his biography by GRANVILLE HICKS and J. STUART, *John Reed: the making of a revolutionary*. 445 pp. MM [Toronto], 1936.)]

BEATTY, BESSIE. *The Red Heart of Russia*. 480 pp. Century, NY, 1918. [This book ranks next to Reed's as one of the best contemporary accounts of the Revolution, giving a vivid account of life in Petrograd, as seen by the correspondent of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, between June 1917 and Jan. 1918.]

WILLIAMS, A. R. *Through the Russian Revolution*. 311 pp. LPC (US pr.), 1923. [Vivid and sympathetic sketches of the Revolution by a correspondent who was in Russia (Petrograd, Moscow, Vladivostok, &c.) from June 1917 to Aug. 1918, with reproductions of proclamations, posters, &c. (One chapter of this was publ. separately as a pamphlet by the WSF in 1919: *The Red Funeral at Vladivostok*. [?] pp.)]

POOLE, E. *The Village: Russian Impressions*. 234 pp. MM, 1919. [Sketches of life in the villages and towns in the summer of 1917—the reactions of common people to the events of the time. (The author knew no Russian, but was accompanied by a non-party interpreter.)]

„ ‘*The Dark People.*’ *Russia's Crisis*. 226 pp. MM (US pr.), 1919. [Sketches of life in Petrograd and Moscow in the summer and autumn of 1917. (Completed Feb. 1918.)]

DOSCH-FLEUROT, A. *Through War to Revolution. Being the experiences of a newspaper correspondent in War and Revolution, 1914–1920*. 242 pp. LA, 1931. [Reminiscences of an American who was in Russia from the winter of 1916 to that of 1918. Some interesting interviews, but lacking in dates and precise statements of fact.]

BRYANT, L. *Six Red Months in Russia*. 290 pp. H, 1919.

[Newspaper articles by an American (Communist) journalist who was in Russia from Aug. 1917 to Jan. 1918, and was in touch with all the Bolshevik leaders.]

HARRISON, M. E. *Marooned in Moscow. The Story of an American Woman imprisoned in Russia.* 322 pp. TB (US pr.), 1922. [Covers her life in Moscow from Feb. 1920 to July 1921, which included 10 months in prison; very informative about conditions at the time. (Her autobiography, *Born for Trouble: the story of a chequered life* [447 pp. G, 1936], was withdrawn from circulation shortly after publication.)]

HARDING, S. *The Underworld of State.* Introd. by Bertrand Russell. 256 pp. AU, 1925. [Mrs. Harding went to Russia as correspondent of the *World* in 1920, was arrested on a false charge of espionage, and spent 5 months in prison. Her book deals with her experiences and endeavours to obtain redress. (See Cmd. 1602 for 1922 for the correspondence between the British and Soviet Govts. on her imprisonment.)]

STRONG, A. L. *The First Time in History.* Introd. by L. Trotsky. 249 pp. LPC (US pr.), 1924. [Newspaper articles by a Left Wing journalist who came to Russia during the famine period and was there in 1921-3. Useful on the NEP and the revival of economic life.]

HULLINGER, E. W. *The Reforging of Russia.* 402 pp. WI (US pr.), 1925. [General sketch of life in Russia in 1921-4 by an American correspondent, including a vivid picture of Lenin as an orator.]

g. FOREIGN VISITORS

These are arranged roughly according to their date of their stay in Russia. The list includes a certain number of persons whose 'visits' were involuntary and sometimes prolonged—prisoners of war, &c.—but in the main it consists of Left Wing sympathisers who came to Russia to find out what life under the Bolsheviks was like.

MARCOSSAN, I. F. *The Rebirth of Russia.* 196 pp. LA, 1917. [An account of the Revolution and the founding of the

Provisional Govt.; written in May 1917. The author arrived at Petrograd immediately after the February Revolution.]

STEBBING, E. P. *From Czar to Bolshevik*. 322 pp. LA, 1918.

[Diary for 20 July–7 Oct. 1917, with introduction and epilogue, mainly at Petrograd, but partly at Moscow and Archangel. The author was in Russia for business reasons.]

HALL, B., and NILES, J. J. *One Man's War: The Story of the Lafayette Escadrille*. 352 pp. Hamilton, 1929. [Includes Lieut. Hall's diary of his stay in Petrograd, Jan.–June 1917, and his departure by the Trans-Siberian. Lively, but its author understood little of what was happening. (His earlier book, *In the Air: Three Years on and over 3 Fronts* [128 pp. HB, 1918], is uninformative.)]

VANDERVELDE, E. *Three Aspects of the Russian Revolution*. Transl. from the French by J. E. H. Findlay. 281 pp. AU, 1918. [Impressions and account of his visit to Petrograd, Moscow and the Front in the hope of keeping Russia in the War. By a veteran Belgian Socialist.]

MASARYK, T. G. *The Making of a State. Memories and Observations, 1914–18*. English version arr. by H. Wickham Steed. 461 pp. AU, 1927. [Includes some brief notes on his visit to Russia in 1917–18 on behalf of the Czechoslovaks.]

KEELING, E. H. *Adventures in Turkey and Russia*. 240 pp. MU, 1924.

BISHOP, H. C. W. *A Kut Prisoner*. 244 pp. LA, 1920.

The memoirs of two prisoners who escaped from Turkey and landed in the Crimea in Sept. 1917. Their accounts of their short stay in South Russia contain nothing of value.

POLLOCK, J. *War and Revolution in Russia. Sketches and Studies*. 280 pp. C, 1918.

„ *The Bolshevik Adventure*. 279 pp. C, 1919.

The first vol. consists of newspaper sketches put together in Sept. 1917, and is of no permanent value, but the second, despite its fierce anti-Bolshevik tone, is interesting; the author went to Russia with the Red Cross, was in Petrograd during both Revolutions, travelled widely in

the country (partly in disguise) in 1918, and escaped from Russia in Jan. 1919.

POWER, R. *Under Cossack and Bolshevik*. 279 pp. M, 1919. [Life in Rostov in 1917-18 as seen by an English girl who had gone out to learn Russian and teach English.]

BARBER, M. H. *A British Nurse in Bolshevik Russia*. 64 pp. Fifield, 1920. [Scrappy recollections of a Red Cross nurse who worked in Russia (mainly in Russian Armenia) from April 1916 to Dec. 1919. Interesting on refugees, and on the reaction of the British authorities to her failure to endorse stories of Bolshevik atrocities !]

BAUERMEISTER, A. *Spies break through. Memoirs of a German Secret Service Officer*. Transl. by H. C. Bywater. 185 pp. C, 1934. [Scrappy recollections of work behind the Russian lines in 1917-18, including contacts with the Bolsheviks.]

PRICE, H. T. *Boche and Bolshevik. Experiences of an Englishman in the German Army and in Russian prisons*. 247 pp. MU, 1919. [Memoirs of an (English-born) German citizen who was captured by the Russians in 1917; includes a general account of conditions at Irkutsk in 1917-18.]

For the memoirs of other prisoners of war belonging to the Central Powers, see II. 4. h and V. 6 g.

KEHLER, H. *The Red Garden*. Transl. from the Danish by F. Toksvig. 204 pp. Gyldendal, London (US pr.), 1922. [Sketches and impressions by a member of the Danish legation who was in Russia and Siberia till the fall of Kolchak. Of little value.]

BIRUKOFF, P. *The New Russia*. 31 pp. ILP, 1919. [General sketch of the Bolshevik regime in early 1919, based on a three months' stay in Moscow (by a Tolstoyan pacifist) on behalf of the Swiss Red Cross.]

MALONE, COL. C. L'E. *The Russian Republic*. 149 pp. AU (& BSP), 1920. [Diary of a visit to Russia in Sept.-Oct. 1919, with the author's conclusions. Pro-Bolshevik, strongly attacking the blockade and intervention.]

CLARKE, J. S. *Pen Pictures of Russia under the "Red Terror."* *Reminiscences of a surreptitious journey to Russia to attend*

the 2nd Congress of the 3rd International. 327 pp. National Workers' Committees, Glasgow, 1921. [Sketches of his journey to Petrograd and back via Murmansk in summer 1920.]

RUBIN, J. *Moscow Mirage.* 320 pp. Bles, 1935. [Recollections of a (Russian-born) American Jew of Socialist sympathies who returned to Russia in 1919 and left it in profound disillusionment in 1921. Life in Odessa before the evacuation and later in Moscow. (Also describes an illegal visit in 1930.)]

MCCULLAGH, F. *A Prisoner of the Reds. The story of a British officer captured in Siberia.* 346 pp. MU, 1921. [Memoirs of a British Intelligence Officer captured at Krasnoiarsk in Jan. 1920 and detained in Russia till April. Interesting on conditions of life, and some points about Ekaterinburg and the murder of the Tsar.]

LANSBURY, G. *What I saw in Russia.* 172 pp. PR, 1920. [Friendly and uncritical record of a visit to Petrograd and Moscow in Feb. 1920 by an English Labour leader; includes interviews with Lenin and others. See also his article, repr. from the Swedish *Politiken*, entitled *My Impressions of Soviet Russia* (7 pp. PRIB, 1920). (There is also a long account of this visit in his autobiography, *My Life* [293 pp. C, 1928], together with his impressions on a later visit in 1926.)]

In May and June 1920 a British Labour Party and Trades Union Delegation paid a visit to Russia. A general report, including a number of documents, statements of policy by Soviet officials, &c., was published under the title *British Labour Delegation to Russia, 1920. Report* (151 pp. TUC and LP, 1921). The following members of the delegation wrote personal accounts as well:

SNOWDEN, MRS P. *Through Bolshevik Russia.* 188 pp. CS, 1920. [Very critical of conditions and of certain aspects of Soviet rule.]

BUXTON, C. R. *In a Russian Village.* 96 pp. LPC, 1922. [First-hand account of life in a Volga village during a short (unauthorised) visit in June 1920.]

- GUEST, L. HADEN. *The Struggle for Power in Europe, 1917-1921. An outline economic and political survey of the Central States and Russia.* 318 pp. HS, 1921. [Includes an account of the visit of the Delegation, by its secretary.]
- RUSSELL, B. *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism.* 188 pp. AU, 1920. [A friendly but sceptical account of Bolshevism based on his visit, with a sketch of Bolshevik theory which a Marxist would repudiate.]
- WILLIAMS, R. *The Soviet System at Work.* 27 pp. CP, 1920. [Repr. of articles in the *Daily Herald*.]
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- PANKHURST, S. *Soviet Russia as I saw it.* 195 pp. Workers' Dreadnought, 1921. [Very favourable account of a visit to Murmansk, Petrograd and Moscow by an English Communist in the summer of 1920.]
- WELLS, H. G. *Russia in the Shadows.* 154 pp. HS, 1921. [Opinionated but very interesting impressions on a visit to Petrograd in Sept.-Oct. 1920 ; includes interviews with Lenin, Gorki, &c. (A rather absurd attack on this book, in the form of letters to the *Morning Post* and other papers, was written by H. A. JONES : 'My dear Wells.' *A manual for the haters of England. Being a series of letters upon Bolshevism, Collectivism, Internationalism and the distribution of wealth addressed to Mr. H. G. Wells.* 310 pp. NG, 1921.)]
- SHERIDAN, C. *Russian Portraits.* 202 pp. CA, 1921. [Diary of her visit to Russia (14 Aug.-23 Nov. 1920) to make portrait busts of the Soviet leaders ; very interesting. (See also her account of the visit in her autobiography, *Nuda Veritas* [347 pp. BU, 1927]. Her book *In Many Places* [281 pp. CA, 1923], a record of her life as correspondent in various countries in 1922, contains some interesting conversations with Soviet representatives abroad.)]
- BRAILSFORD, H. N. *The Russian Workers' Republic.* 206 pp. AU, 1921. [Valuable picture of life in Russia in the autumn of 1920 ; based on a six weeks' visit and largely reflects the views of a small town (Vladimir) where the author stayed for a fortnight. By a Left Wing journalist with a slight knowledge of Russian.]

- KEUN, O. *My Adventures in Bolshevik Russia*. Transl. from the French. 320 pp. LA, 1923. [Memoirs of a Left Wing French writer who was deported from Constantinople to Russia in June 1920 and imprisoned by the Cheka for her Menshevik views; she left via Georgia in 1921. Useful for general conditions of life, and for the operations of the Cheka.]
- BERKMAN, A. *The Bolshevik Myth. (Diary, 1920-1922.)* 319 pp. HU, 1923. [The diary of a Russian-American Anarchist who returned to Russia in 1920, worked in the administration, and left in 1922 out of opposition to the centralising policy of the bureaucracy. Very hostile, but gives a valuable picture of the appalling conditions caused by the Civil War.]
- GOLDMAN, E. *My Disillusionment in Russia*. 263 pp. DL, 1925. [A record of her stay in Russia in 1920-1, and her growing disillusionment with the regime, by the most famous of American (Russian-born) Anarchists. (The second half of Vol. II of her autobiography, *Living My Life* [2 vols. 993 pp. D (US pr.), 1932], deals mainly with her life in Russia, but only recapitulates the earlier work.)]
- MACKENZIE, F. A. *Russia before Dawn*. 288 pp. U, 1923. [Readable and optimistic account of conditions between Sept. 1921 and Jan. 1923, by a journalist who had travelled widely both in the cities and in the countryside.]

An account of her visit in 1921 (and of later visits, notably that of 1937) is given by the American Communist, Mrs. E. R. Bloor, in her autobiography, *We are many* (304 pp. LW, 1941).

3. THE BREAK WITH THE PAST

a. THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK

The complete stenographic record of the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk was published in 3 volumes at Moscow in 1920, but the U.S. Department of State published a very full summary in English in 1918 (*Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference. The Peace Negotiations between Russia and the Central Powers, 21 Nov. 1917-3 March 1918*. Govt. Printing

Office, Washington, 1918). All the more important participants, except Kühlmann, have left their recollections on record. Trotsky's account will be found in his *Lenin* and in his autobiography. Joffe's diary was used in preparing the chapter on 'The Fight for Peace' in Astrov's *Illustrated History of the Russian Revolution*. Hoffmann's and Czernin's accounts are mentioned below. Of those who were not actually present, Ludendorff and Lenin exercised the most powerful influence on the Conference; Ludendorff's memoirs are listed below, but Lenin's influence must be followed in his own writings and in Trotsky's *Lenin*. The memoirs of various Allied representatives, and in particular those of Francis, Bruce Lockhart, Robins and Sadoul, are of great importance.

MAGNES, J. L. *Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk. A documentary history of the peace negotiations.* 192 pp. Rand School of Social Science, NY, 1919. [An excellent contemporary study.]

WHEELER-BENNETT, J. W. *Brest-Litovsk: the forgotten peace.* 478 pp. MM, 1938. [A full, scholarly and brilliantly written account of the conference and the treaties. (The author was able to consult Trotsky, Kühlmann, Radek and other important negotiators.) Excellent bibl. and documents.]

„ *The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Germany's Eastern Policy.* (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 14.) 32 pp. OUP, 1939. 2nd revised edn. 39 pp. OUP, 1940. [A popular pamphlet on the Treaty of 1918 and the events of 1939-40.]

HOFFMANN, GEN. M. *War Diaries and other Papers.* 2 vols. 271, 407 pp. S, 1929. [The first vol. contains his diary, from the outbreak of war to the end of 1918; the entries are brief, but of great value. The second vol. contains his study, *The War of Lost Opportunities* (orig. publ. separately, 252 pp. KP, 1924), which deals incidentally with Brest-Litovsk, and two very anti-Bolshevik essays, 'Bolshevism' and 'Moscow, the Root of all Evil' (written 1922).]

LUDENDORFF, E. *My War Memories, 1914-1918.* 2 vols. 793 pp. HN, 1919. [Mainly useful for campaigns earlier

in the War, but also relevant on the Russian peace.—Hindenburg's memoirs (*Out of My Life*. 458 pp. CS, 1920) contain nothing of importance regarding Brest-Litovsk. There are some interesting notes on the negotiations in the first vol. of the *Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden*. (Transl. W. M. Colder and C. W. H. Sutton. 389, 407 pp. C, 1928.)]

CZERNIN, COUNT O. *In the World War*. 352 pp. CS, 1919.

[Includes his diary from 17 Dec. 1917 to 11 Feb. 1918.

By the head of the Austrian delegation. Very important.]

GRATZ, G., and SCHÜLLER, R. *The Economic Policy of Austria-Hungary during the War*. (Social and Economic History of the World War.) 286 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1928.

[Includes an important section on Brest-Litovsk, and the influence of the food situation at home on Austrian policy.

(Dr. Gratz was Czernin's *chef de cabinet*, and Prof. Schüller was Director-General of the Austrian Ministry of Commerce.)]

See also the chapter on Brest-Litovsk in K. F. NOWAK's book on the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (*The Collapse of Central Europe*. Transl. O. Lochner and E. W. Dickes. 365 pp. KP, 1924).

For the reactions of Brest-Litovsk on some Allied statesmen, see the memoirs referred to in II. 4. a.

b. THE LAST DAYS OF THE TSAR

BYKOV, P. M. *The Last days of Tsardom*. Transl. with a preface of A. Rothstein. 90 pp. L, 1937. [The official Bolshevik account, by the former Chairman of the Ekaterinburg Soviet; runs from the February Revolution to the capture of Ekaterinburg by the Whites. Corroborates Sokolov's conclusions in all essential points. The preface is a violent attack on the character of the Tsar.]

WILTON, R. *The Last Days of the Romanovs*. 320 pp. BU, 1920. [Deals chiefly with the period after the removal of the Imperial family to Tobolsk; the author took part in N. A. Sokolov's investigation, and the depositions of the witnesses are printed in full. (Sokolov's Russian text was

printed in Berlin in 1925; there is a French translation, *Enquête judiciaire sur l'assassinat de la famille impériale russe*. 389 pp. Paris, 1924.))]

- BULYGIN, P. *The Murder of the Romanovs*. Introd. by Sir B. Pares. 286 pp. HN, 1935. [Consists of two separate works. (1) A. KERENSKY, *The Road to the Tragedy* (pp. 25-153), an account of the imprisonment of the Tsar at Tsarskoie Selo, with Kerensky's general views on the fall of the dynasty. (2) P. BULYGIN, *The Sorrowful Quest* (pp. 154-273), a personal narrative of an attempt to rescue the Imperial family from Ekaterinburg and a summary of Sokolov's investigations.]
- BENCKENDORFF, COUNT P. C. DE. *Last Days at Tsarskoie Selo*. Transl. M. Baring. 166 pp. H, 1927. [Day by day account of the life of the Imperial family at Tsarskoie Selo from 1 March to 1 Aug. 1917, with two appendices on their later history and part of the author's diary for 1920.]
- VIROUBOVA, A. *Memories of the Russian Court*. 400 pp. MM, 1923. [The memoirs of the chief confidante of the Empress; she was with the Imperial family up to Oct. 1917, and corresponded with them up to May 1918. (The *Journal Secret*, published under her name in French, appears to be a forgery.)]
- GILLIARD, P. *Thirteen Years at the Russian Court*. 304 pp. HN, 1921. [The memoirs of the Swiss tutor of the Tsarevich, from 1905 to 1918. He was with the Imperial family up to 22 May 1918; for later history he relies on Sokolov.]
- MARKOV, S. V. *How we tried to save the Tsaritsa*. Transl. F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait. 288 pp. P, 1929. [Recollections of the period Feb. 1917-summer 1918 by an officer in the Imperial Cavalry; during most of the period he was in contact with the Imperial family, and planning their escape.]
- RODZIANKO, COL. P. *Tattered Banners. An autobiography*. 288 pp. Seeley Service, 1939. [Recollections of the pre-war and war periods, but deals briefly with the murder of the Tsar; the author was at Ekaterinburg shortly afterwards.]

The memoirs of BARONESS SOPHIE BUXHOEVDEN, *Left Behind*, are important, since she was with the Imperial family up to May 1918; see also her biography of the Tsarina (*The Life and Tragedy of Alexandra Feodorovna, Empress of Russia*. Introd. by J. C. Squire. 360 pp. LN, 1928). The Tsar's diary is available in a French translation (see V. 1. f). Two volumes written shortly after the February Revolution, the anonymous *Fall of the Romanoffs* (312 pp. HJ, 1918) and C. RIVET's *The Last of the Romanofs* (Transl. from the French by H. O'Grady. 246 pp. C, 1918), the first by some personage of the court, the second by the Petrograd correspondent of the *Paris Temps*, add nothing of value, but are interesting as indicating contemporary feeling about the Tsar and the abdication. SIR JOHN HANBURY-WILLIAMS, in *The Emperor Nicholas II as I knew him*, scarcely carries his story beyond the abdication, and LILI DEHN, who was a close friend of the Empress and wrote a warm defence of her against her detractors (*The Real Tsaritsa*. 253 pp. TB, 1922), unfortunately was separated from the Imperial family immediately after the February Revolution. Neither of the two biographies of the Tsar by PRINCESS C. RADZIWIŁŁ (*Nicholas II. The Last of the Tsars*. 320 pp. CA, 1931) and 'M. ESSAD-BEY' (*Nicholas II. Prisoner of the Purple*. Transl. from the German by P. M. and E. Branden. 292 pp. HN, 1936) adds anything of value for the period after his abdication, and the same is true of the two biographies of the Tsarina by V. POLIAKOFF (*The Tragic Bride. The story of the Empress Alexandra of Russia*. 320 pp. AP, NY, 1927) and PRINCESS C. RADZIWIŁŁ (*The Intimate Life of the Last Tsarina*. 340 pp. CS, 1929).

On the murder of the Grand Dukes one can consult S. SMIRNOFF, *Autour de l'assassinat des Grands-Ducs. Ekaterinbourg-Alapaïevsk-Perm-Petrograd* (Préface de M. Spalaïkovitch. 288 pp. Paris, 1927). Some interesting details about the Tsarevich will be found in PRINCESS RADZIWIŁŁ, *The Taint of the Romanovs* (256 pp. CA, 1931), a volume of superficial historical sketches, largely devoted to him and to the unlucky son of Peter the Great. W. GERHARDI's *The Romanovs. Evocation of the Past as a Mirror of the Present* (542 pp. RC, 1940) is a sketch of the dynasty as a background to the abdication and

death of the last Tsar. G. BOTKIN's *The Real Romanovs* (386 pp. P, 1932), by the son of Nicholas's court physician, who was murdered at Ekaterinburg, is a sketchy account of life at court and the abdication and death of the Tsar, but it has no independent value; it incidentally disputes the claims of Madame Tchaikovsky to be the Grand Duchess Anastasia. The case in favour of Madame Tchaikovsky is set out in H. VON RATHLEF-KEILMANN, *Anastasia. The Survivor of Ekaterinburg* (Transl. from the German by F. S. Flint. 262 pp. P, 1928).

4. INTERVENTION AND THE CIVIL WAR

a. GENERAL WORKS

The best general account of Intervention is that in L. FISCHER's *Soviets in World Affairs*, and the best general account of the Civil War is that in CHAMBERLIN's *Russian Revolution*. The collections of *Papers relating to the Foreign Policy of the United States* for 1918 and 1919 (see II. 1. b) are source material of the first importance, particularly for affairs in Siberia. The large interventionist and anti-interventionist pamphlet literature is listed below in II. 6. Some material of interest for the history of the various political groups is provided by the stamps which they issued; see G. M. WHITE, *The Postage Stamps of the Soviet Republics, 1917-1925* (56 pp. Harris Publ., 1925).

STEWART, G. *The White Armies of Russia. A Chronicle of Counter-Revolution and Allied intervention.* 469 pp. MM, NY, 1933. [A detailed account of the campaigns in Russia from Brest-Litovsk to the end of 1922. Maps and excellent bibl. in many languages; unfortunately no references in the text.]

COATES, W. P. and Z. K. *Armed Intervention in Russia, 1918-1922.* 400 pp. G, 1935. [A compilation of some use, based mainly on newspapers and strongly anti-interventionist in viewpoint. No bibl. (See also the pamphlet by W. P. COATES, *Russia's Counter-claims* [Foreword by A. A. Purcell. 48 pp. HOR, 1924], giving

information about intervention and Russia's bill for damages.)]

La Guerre entre les alliés et la Russie, 1918-1920. Documents réunis par E. Moulis et E. Bergonier. 209 pp. Paris, 1937. [A useful selection of documents, embedded in a general study attacking the policy of intervention and advocating a settlement of the Russian debt question. (On the end of the Franco-Russian alliance see G. MICHON, *The Franco-Russian Alliance, 1891-1917* (Transl. N. Thomas. 340 pp. AU, 1929).)]

The pamphlet of 'Vigilantes' (K. ZILLIACUS), *Between Two Wars?* (212 pp. PB, 1939), is largely devoted to the topic of Intervention and the attitude behind it. See also W. T. GOODE, *Is Intervention in Russia a Myth?* (1931).

On the English side, the two most important sources are WINSTON CHURCHILL, *The World Crisis. V. The Aftermath* (474 pp. TB, 1929. The abridged edn. of the complete work [831 pp. TB, 1931] omits Russian affairs altogether), and D. LLOYD GEORGE, *War Memories* (6 vols. 3531 pp. NW, 1933-36. Repr. in 2 vols. 2108 pp. Odham's Press, 1938); the fifth volume of the latter contains his views on Russian affairs from the February Revolution to Brest-Litovsk, the sixth deals with the early stages of intervention. Many of Lloyd George's comments on Russian affairs are recorded in LORD RIDDELL's *Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and after, 1918-1923* (435 pp. G, 1933). Some interesting scraps of information can also be gleaned from the second volume of Sir Henry Wilson's diaries (MAJ.-GEN. SIR C. E. CALLWALL, *Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson. His Life and Diaries.* 2 vols. 364, 390 pp. CS, 1927), from the second volume of H. WICKHAM STEED's autobiography (*Through Thirty Years, 1892-1922. A Personal Narrative.* 412, 488 pp. H, 1924), from the autobiography of SIR BASIL THOMSON, *The Scene Changes* (402 pp. CO, 1939), and from other memoirs and diaries of the period.

On the American side, the attitude of the President can be followed in the last two volumes of R. S. BAKER's *Woodrow*

Wilson. Life and Letters (Vols. VII, VIII. 604, 626 pp. H [US pr.], 1929); the first of these covers the period 6 April 1917–28 Feb. 1918, the second of them 1 March–11 Nov. 1918. These must be supplemented by the third volume of *The Intimate Papers of Col. House* (Arranged as a narrative by C. Seymour. 4 vols. 474, 502, 464, 568 pp. BN, 1926–8), which deals with Wilson's reactions to Brest-Litovsk and the early stages of intervention. See also F. L. SCHUMAN, *American Policy towards Russia since 1917* (1924), and the collections of documents listed above in II. 1. b.

On the French side there is little of such cardinal importance, but one may mention the study of J. XYDIAS, *L'intervention française en Russie, 1918–19* (381 pp. Paris, 1927).

The story of the Bullitt Mission is best followed in the account of Bullitt himself, and in the volumes of documents of American foreign policy; there is also an important chapter on it in R. LANSING, *The Peace Negotiations: a personal narrative* (328 pp. Houghton, Boston, 1921). On the relations of the Versailles Conference with the Soviet Govt., there is a brief section in the sixth volume of the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris* (Ed. H. W. V. Temperley. 709 pp. Frowde & HS, 1924), which carries the story on to the Hague Conference in 1922; there are also interesting chapters in COL. R. H. BEADON, *Some Memories of the Peace Conference* (294 pp. Williams, 1933), and H. NICOLSON, *Peacemaking, 1919* (386 pp. CO, 1933), both by members of the British Delegation, and in E. J. DILLON, *The Peace Conference* (439 pp. HN, 1918), and S. HUDDLESTON, *Peace-Making at Paris* (240 pp. U, 1919), both by journalists who 'covered' the Conference. (Dr. Dillon's book is disappointing, for he was one of the greatest authorities on pre-revolutionary Russia, but he writes in a strain of bitter and prejudiced disillusionment and reflects the views of the 'Whites' and the minor nationalities of Eastern Europe.)

Some information about the anti-interventionist activities of various working-class organisations in England will be found in HARRY POLLITT's autobiography (up to 1929), *Serving my Time: an apprenticeship to politics* (292 pp. LW, 1940); the chapter in this dealing specifically with the refusal to load

arms for Poland is reprinted from *We did not Fight. 1914-18 experiences of war resisters* (Ed. J. Bell. 392 pp. Cobden-Sanderson, 1935). (The autobiography also contains a brief but vivid account of Lenin's funeral, at which Pollitt was one of the Guard of Honour.)

b. INTERVENTION IN NORTH RUSSIA

Despatches on the North Russian Operations, May 1918-October 1919. Supplement to the London Gazette of April 2, 1920 (No. 31850; pp. 4107-31).

The Evacuation of North Russia, 1919. Parl. Papers. Cmd. 818 (1920). 45 pp. SO, 1920. [Narrative and documents covering the period from Jan. 1919 to the completion of the evacuation (Oct.). With 2 maps. (See also Cmd. 395 [1919] and Cmd. 772 [1920].)]

MAYNARD, MAJ.-GEN. SIR C. *The Murmansk Venture.* 322 pp. HS, 1928. [The story of the expedition, by the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, from May 1918 to Sept. 1919.]

SOUTAR, A. *With Ironside in North Russia.* 250 pp. HN, 1940. [An account covering the period April-Oct. 1919, by the correspondent of *The Times* with the British forces. (Strongly anti-Bolshevik; written partly under the influence of the Russo-Finnish War of 1939-40.)]

STRAKHOVSKY, L. I. *The Origins of the American Adventure in North Russia, 1918.* 140 pp. Princeton Univ. Press, 1937. [A well-documented apologia for American intervention, ending with the arrival of the Americans at Archangel on 4 Sept. 1918. By a professional historian who in 1918 was connected with the (anti-Bolshevik) Soviet at Murmansk.]

The following three American accounts (by participants) may also be mentioned :

ALBERTSON, R. *Fighting without a War. An account of military intervention in North Russia.* 138 pp. Harcourt, NY, 1920.

MOORE, J. R. ; MEAD, H. H. ; JAHNS, L. E. *The History of the American Expedition fighting the Bolsheviki. Campaigning in North Russia, 1918-19.* 320 pp. Hillsdale, Michigan, 1920.

'A CHRONICLER' [= J. CUDAHY], *Archangel: the American War with Russia.* 216 pp. Chicago, 1924.

C. THE CIVIL WAR IN FINLAND

The following works are all written from a strongly anti-Communist and anti-Russian point of view :

HANNULA, LT.-COL. J. O. *Finland's War of Independence.* Introd. by Gen. Sir W. M. St. G. Kirke. 229 pp. F, 1939. [Mainly an account of military events from the proclamation of Finnish independence (Dec. 1917) to Mannerheim's entry into Helsinki (16 May 1918).]

HALTER, H. *Finland breaks the Russian chains.* Transl. from the German by C. W. Sykes. 232 pp. Hamilton, 1940. [Account of German support and assistance given to the movement for independence (up to May 1918).]

SÖDERHJELM, H. *The Red Insurrection in Finland in 1918. A study based on documentary evidence.* Transl. by A. I. Fausböll. 159 pp. HR, 1920. [*Ex parte* statement, with valuable material, of the Finnish Government's case.]

LAPORTE, H. *Le premier échec des rouges. Russie, Finlande, janvier-mai, 1918.* 188 pp. Paris, 1929. [Account of the siege of Tampere by a Frenchman who was caught between the lines and was present at the siege.]

RÄIKKÖNEN, E. *Svinhufud, the Builder of Finland. An Adventure in Statecraft.* 252 pp. Wilmer, 1938. [General sketch of events between Nov. 1917 and May 1918, and Svinhufud's part in them.]

RODZIANKO, P. *Mannerheim. An intimate picture of a great soldier and statesman.* Recorded by A. Leslie. 228 pp. J, 1940. [Includes the Civil War and the Russo-Finnish War of 1939 ; strongly partisan (the author is related to Mannerheim by marriage) and not of much value.]

GENERAL R. VON DER GOLTZ's book, *Meine Sendung in Finnland und im Baltikum* (312 pp. Leipzig, 1920), is of

course of capital importance, but it is not available in translation. G. GAILLARD's book, *L'Allemagne et le Baltikum* (280 pp. Paris, 1919), contains valuable material, and is violently anti-German in outlook. GENERAL MAYNARD's *Murmansk Venture* is also relevant. Among works in English printed in Helsinki one may mention *The "White Terror" in Finland* (27 pp. 1919), a highly unfair selection of speeches made in the Diet from the White point of view, and K. V. BLOMSTEDT, *Finland, its Country and People: a short survey* (89 pp. 1919), also a semi-official apologia for the Whites. JARL HEMMER's novel, *The Fool of Faith* (Transl. from the Swedish by F. H. Lyon. 336 pp. Liveright, NY, 1935), gives a vivid description of conditions in the prison camp at Sveaborg maintained by the victorious Whites.

From the Communist side there are, apart from material printed in Russia, only two meagre pamphlets, *An Open Letter to Lenin from the Finnish Communists* ([?] pp. PRIB, 1918), and O. W. KUUSINEN, *The Finnish Revolution. A self-criticism* (30 pp. WSF, 1919), written after the defeat of the Communists in 1918. Another contemporary pamphlet is the anonymous *Memorandum on the Finnish Question* (23 pp. RLC, 1919), an elaborate denial, from the White standpoint, of Finland's right to sever her connection with Russia. [The author was BARON A. KORFF.]

Fair-minded but necessarily brief summaries of the civil war will be found in J. H. JACKSON, *Finland* (243 pp. AU, 1938. 2nd edn. 1940), and in M. W. GRAHAM, *New Governments of Eastern Europe* (1928); there are also short accounts in A. MACCALLUM SCOTT, *Suomi: the Land of the Finns* (223 pp. TB, 1926), and T. W. ATCHLEY, *Finland* (243 pp. SJ, 1931). A very important study of a particular topic, with an admirable bibliography, is M. W. GRAHAM, 'The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States. Part I: Finland', in *University of California Publications in Social Sciences*, iii (1936), pp. 80-280.

d. THE BALTIC COUNTRIES, 1918-20

The winning of their independence by the Baltic States is a topic that need not be covered by this bibliography; the best general account available in English is that in M. W.

GRAHAM's *New Governments of Eastern Europe* (1928), which contains very full references to the literature on the subject. Two short-lived periodicals published in London, *The Baltic Review* (1920-21) and the *Esthonian Review* (1919-20), are useful for reference. Of direct interest to Soviet history is G. POPOFF, *The City of the Red Plague. Soviet Rule in a Baltic Town* (843 pp. AU, 1932), an extremely hostile account of Soviet rule in Riga between 2 Jan. and 22 March 1919.

For German intervention in this region the standard work is that of GEN. VON DER GOLTZ, *Meine Sendung in Finnland und im Baltikum*, with GAILLARD'S *L'Allemagne et le Baltikum* as a corrective to its views.

The following works are also useful :

- Memorandum on the Baltic Provinces Question.* 22 pp. RLC, 1919. [White Russian pamphlet, arguing that the Baltic Provinces could not exist as independent States. (By BARON A. KORFF.)]
- HEYKING, BARON A. *I. Bolshevism and Pusillanimity. II. The Baltic Problem.* 46 pp. K, 1919. [Interventionist pamphlet by the Russian Consul-General in London.]
- BUCHAN, J. (ed.). *The Baltic and Caucasian States.* 269 pp. HS, 1923. [Finland by T. L. GILMOUR, the Baltic States by W. F. REDDAWAY, Lithuania by T. F. TALLENTS and G. DRAGE, and the Caucasian States by W. E. D. ALLEN.]
- RUHL, A. *New Masters of the Baltic.* 239 pp. Dutton, NY, 1922. [A good if journalistic account of events in the Baltic countries and Finland between 1917 and 1920 by an American who was there in 1919-20.]
- HARRISON, E. J. *Lithuania, Past and Present.* 224 pp. U, 1922. [Badly arranged, but contains much information about the period 1918-20.]
- JACKSON, J. H. *Estonia.* 248 pp. AU, 1941. [Scholarly history, up to 1940, with a good bibl.]

On the general relations of the Soviet Union with the Baltic States, there is a good study in French by E. SOBOLEVICH, *Les États baltes et la Russie soviétique. Relations internationales jusqu'en 1928* (265 pp. Paris, 1931). See also W. P. and Z. K. COATES, *Russia, Finland and the Baltic* (1940).

e. THE RUSSO-POLISH WAR, 1920

The chief work in English is that of Lord D'Abernon.

D'ABERNON, VISCOUNT. *The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World. Warsaw, 1920.* 178 pp. HS, 1931. [A badly arranged but extremely valuable book by the chief British representative on the Anglo-French Mission sent to Warsaw. It contains his diary of events from 22 July to 2 Sept. 1920, together with a résumé of Pilsudski's and Tukhachevsky's own accounts, both taken from Pilsudski's book (referred to below). Excellent maps.]

The following books give good summaries, and are also useful on subsequent Russo-Polish relations :

MACHRAY, R. *Poland, 1914-1931.* 447 pp. AU, 1932. [Summary chronicle, with good bibl. (The main part is textually reproduced in his later book, *The Poland of Pilsudski, 1914-1936.* 508 pp. AU, 1936.)]

BUELL, R. L. *Poland: Key to Europe.* 358 pp. CA, 1939. [Very useful also on Polish foreign policy in later years. (The references are mainly to Polish sources.)]

REDDAWAY, W. F. *Marshal Pilsudski.* 334 pp. R, 1939. [Scholarly biography.]

The more popular biographies of Pilsudski by R. LANDAU (*Pilsudski. Hero of Poland.* Transl. G. Dunlop. 286 pp. JA, 1940) and E. J. PATTERSON (*Pilsudski, Marshal of Poland.* 144 pp. Arrowsmith, 1935) are of little value in this connection.

A number of important Polish works are available in French translations. The following may be mentioned :

PILSUDSKI, J. *L'Année 1920.* Trad. du polonais par le lieutenant. Ch. Jèze et le commandant J. A. Teslar. 336 pp. Paris, 1929. [Includes the text of Tukhachevsky's lectures, 'The Campaign beyond the Vistula', delivered at the Military Academy at Moscow, 7-10 Feb., 1923.—The English work entitled *Joseph Pilsudski. The Memories of a Polish Revolutionary and Soldier* (Transl. and ed. by

- D.R. Gillie. 377 pp. F, 1931) contains almost all Pilsudski's literary works *except* this one.]
- SIKORSKI, GEN. L. *Le Campagne polono-russe de 1920*. Trad. par le commandant Larcher. Préface de M. le maréchal Foch. 320 pp. Paris, 1928.
- PRZYBYLSKI, CAPT. A. *La Pologne en lutte pour ses frontières, 1918-1920*. Trad. par le lieut.-col. Jèze et le comm. J. A. Teslar. 172 pp. Paris, 1929.
- KUNTZ, CAPT. C. *L'Offensive militaire de l'étoile rouge contre la Pologne. La bataille pour Varsovie et la manœuvre libératrice*. 123 pp. Paris, 1922.
- CAMON, GEN. *La Manœuvre libératrice du Maréchal Pilsudski contre les bolchevistes, août 1920*. 125 pp. Paris, 1929.

Also of great interest is F. TOMMASSINI, *La Risurrezione della Polonia* (356 pp. Milan, 1925), by one of the very few foreign diplomats who did not leave Warsaw when it seemed likely to fall into the hands of the Bolsheviks in Aug. 1920. On the origins of the war, the Soviet Government published a *Livre rouge. Recueil des documents relatifs aux relations entre la Russie et la Pologne, 1918-1920*. (112 pp. Moscow, 1920.)

For the temporary occupation of Minsk by the Poles in 1919, A. V. GOODHART'S *Poland and the Minority Races* (194 pp. AU, 1920), a diary (12 July-13 Sept. 1919) of a mission to enquire into Jewish pogroms, should be consulted; it gives first-hand evidence as to the extreme unreliability of the Polish press on the subject of Bolshevik atrocities.

f. DENIKIN AND WRANGEL

- DENIKIN, GEN. A. I. *The White Army*. Transl. C. Zvegintzov. 868 pp. CA, 1930. [Summary of his five-volume work in Russian, continuing his *Russian Turmoil* (q.v.). Runs from the end of 1917 to the evacuation of the Crimea.]
- WRANGEL, GEN. P. S. *Memoirs*. Transl. from the French by S. Goulston. 856 pp. WN, 1929. [Rather incoherent but very valuable memoirs, including diary extracts, despatches, &c. They run from the beginning of 1918 to the evacuation, and were completed in Dec. 1928.]

LOUKOMSKY, A. *Memoirs of the Russian Revolution*. Transl. Mrs. Vitali. 256 pp. U, 1922. [Valuable memoirs, ending with the evacuation; the author was Chief of Staff to Brussilov and Kornilov in 1917, and subsequently War Minister to Denikin and Special Representative of Wrangel before the Inter-Allied High Commission at Constantinople.]

There is a useful account (with map) of the early campaigns of Denikin's army (to 1 Nov. 1918) in PRINCE P. M. VOLKONSKY'S pamphlet, *The Volunteer Army of Alexeev and Denikin* (84 pp. RLC, 1919).

MAGNUS, B.' [= A. MAHOFF]. *Smell of Smoke*. 314 pp. D, 1936. [Personal memoirs by a White Russian officer of fighting in the South from Oct. 1917 to the evacuation of the Crimea.]

MONASTEREV, N. *Dans la Mer Noire, 1912-1924*. Transl. J. Perceau. 251 pp. Paris, 1928. [The memoirs of a submarine officer in the Black Sea. Important for the Denikin-Wrangel period and the evacuation; reproduces many official orders and other documents.]

GARDO, L. *Cossack Fury. The experiences of a woman soldier with the White Russians*. 256 pp. HN, 1938. [Fighting in the Ukraine under Kornilov and his successors up to the evacuation of Novorossisk.]

KALEDIN, V. K. *K. 14-O.M. 66. Adventures of a Double Spy*. 288 pp. HB, 1934. [Mainly concerned with pre-revolutionary episodes, but also deals with events in Odessa in March 1919, when the author was working for the White Intelligence Service.]

CAMERON, CAPT. E. P. *Goodbye Russia. Adventures of H.M. Transport 'Rio Negro'*. 244 pp. HS, 1934. [The evacuation of refugees from Odessa and other ports in 1920.]

HODGSON, J. E. *With Denikin's Armies*. 195 pp. Williams, 1932. [Sketchy recollections, including an important interview with Denikin, by a war correspondent who was in South Russia, May-Dec. 1919.]

JONES, H. A. *Over the Balkans and South Russia. Being the History of No. 47 Squadron, R.A.F.* 176 pp. AR, 1923.

[Deals only very briefly with its period in Russia, June-Oct. 1919.]

BECHHOFFER, C. E. *In Denikin's Russia and the Caucasus, 1919-20.* 324 pp. CO, 1921. [Observations by a Russian-speaking journalist in the winter and spring of 1919-20; chiefly important for the Caucasian republics. (He also deals briefly with this journey in *A Wanderer's Log.* 246 pp. Mills & Boon, 1922.)]

HUTTON, I. E. *With a Women's Unit in Serbia, Salonika and Sebastopol.* 302 pp. WN, 1929. [The last 50 pp. deal with her work in the Crimea, June-Nov. 1920.]

PALEN, L. S. *The White Devil of the Black Sea.* 297 pp. LA, 1924.

„ *The White Devil's Mate.* 275 pp. LA, 1927.

Somewhat highly coloured account of the exploits of a Cossack officer and the life of his wife during the Denikin-Wrangel period in the south.

'NADEJDA.' *Once I had a home. The diary and narrative of Nadejda, lady of honour to their Imperial Majesties the late Empress Alexandra Feodorovna and the Empress Maria Feodorovna of Russia.* 320 pp. D, 1926. [The greater part of the diary deals with her life in the Crimea from Oct. 1917 to the evacuation in the spring of 1920.]

Some account of conditions in the Crimea in 1917-19 will also be found in the autobiography of N. V. TCHARYKOW, *Glimpses of High Politics. Through War and Peace, 1855-1929* (Foreword by Sir B. Pares. 330 pp. AU, 1931). M. R. WERNER'S *To whom it may concern. The story of Victor Ilyitch Seroff* (277 pp. CA, 1932) gives a personal record of conditions at Batum during the Revolution and Civil War (and also later contacts with Isadora Duncan). On the fate of the refugees from South Russia, there are good sections in C. A. MACARTNEY, *Refugees: the Work of the League* (128 pp. LNU, 1931).

MARTY, A. *The Epic of the Black Sea.* 89 pp. MB, 1941.
[An account of the mutinies in the French fleet and army, by one of their leaders. (A little information on the same

topic will also be found in R. BOUCARD, *The Secret Services of Europe*. 260 pp. SP, 1940.)]

The joint study of J. M. MITCHELL, I. N. ASBESHOV, and G. P. N. RICHARDSON, *Typhus Fever, with special reference to the Russian epidemic* (48 pp. Baillière, 1922), is a technical work, based partly on experience gained during the Volga epidemic of 1919-20.

On the pogroms in the Ukraine during the years 1917-20, one may consult the following works :

The Pogroms in the Ukraine under the Ukrainian Governments (1917-1921). (Committee of Jewish Delegations.) 286 pp. BD (for the Zionist Organisation), 1927. [The translation of a French work, by I. B. SCHECHTMANN and others. A history of the pogroms, with over 100 pp. of relevant documents.]

HEIFETZ, E. *The Slaughter of Jews in the Ukraine in 1919*. 408 pp. Seltzer, NY, 1921. [Detailed account of the pogroms, based on material collected by the (Red Cross) Relief Committee ; by its chairman. (Over half the volume consists of the actual reports collected at the time at Kiev.)]

Jewish Pogroms in South Russia. Report by the Kieff Pogrom Relief Committee. Issued by the Central Committee of the Zionist Organisation in Russia (Merkaz). 27 pp. London, 1920. [Account of massacres between Jan. and Sept. 1919, mainly at the hands of Petlura's troops, with relief measures taken under Red Cross auspices. (Included in the documents in *The Pogroms in the Ukraine*.)]

g. GEORGIA AND TRANSCAUCASIA, 1917-24

There is a very considerable pamphlet literature in English and French dealing with Georgian claims to independence, but since the bulk of it was published in Paris it can be left out of consideration here.

AVASHVILI, Z. *The Independence of Georgia in International Politics, 1918-1921*. 286 pp. Headley, 1940. [A careful study, largely dealing with his own activities, by a pro-

- minent Georgian who was sent to Western Europe to secure recognition for the new regime. Written in 1924.] *Documents presented by the Government of the Republic of Georgia to the First Assembly of the League of Nations relative to the admission of Georgia to the said League.* (English and French.) 51 pp. London, 1920. [Useful collection of documents. See also the *Journal* of the First General Assembly of the League.]
- BUCHAN, J. (ed.). *The Baltic and Caucasian States.* 269 pp. HS, 1923. [The section on the Caucasian States is by W. E. D. Allen.]
- BUXTON, H. *Trans-Caucasia.* 99 pp. Faith Press, 1926. [Sketch of the history and position of this region in the early twenties, based on several visits in connection with Armenian relief work.]
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- PRICE, M. P. *War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia.* 296 pp. AU, 1918. [Mainly concerned with the Caucasian and Transcaspian regions in 1915-16, but the last chapter deals with the impact of the February Revolution in the Caucasian provinces.]
- DUNSTERVILLE, MAJ.-GEN. L. C. *The Adventures of Dunsterforce.* 323 pp. AR, 1920. [The story of the British force which was sent to organise the defence of the Caucasus against the Turks (Jan.-Sept. 1918). Includes many documents, military and otherwise.]
- DADESHKELIANI, PRINCESS K. *Princess in Uniform.* Transl. from the French by A. A. Ashton. 301 pp. Bell, 1934. [Autobiography, mainly about her service in the Red Cross during the War, but including a little about the Revolution in Georgia (up to 1921).]
- ARMSTRONG, H. C. *Unending Battle.* 302 pp. LN, 1934. [Biography of a Georgian nationalist general, Leo Keresse-lidze, and of his fighting with Whites and Reds up to his exile (1921).]

C. E. Bechhofer's account of his visit in 1919-20 has been referred to in the preceding subsection. The chapters in H. C. LUKE's *Anatolica* (210 pp. MM, 1934) dealing with Trans-

caucasia are purely historical and descriptive, ignoring the existing political situation altogether, though the author was in the country in 1919 and 1920. A little about conditions in the early part of 1919 will be found in A. RAWLINSON, *Adventures in the Near East, 1918-1922* (377 pp. Melrose, 1928. New edn. 287 pp. CA, 1934). A pamphlet on a particular topic is J. TSAGARELLI, *The Co-operative Movement in the Republic of Georgia* (16 pp. Co-op. Printing Soc., 1922).

KEUN, O. *In the Land of the Golden Fleece. Through Independent Menchevist Georgia.* Transl. from the French by H. Jessiman. 270 pp. LA, 1924. [Excellent description of Georgia by a French Left Wing sympathiser of the Menshevik regime who travelled through the country in 1919-20.]

KAUTSKY, K. *Georgia. A Social-Democratic Peasant Republic. Impressions and observations.* Transl. from the German by H. J. Stenning. 112 pp. International Bookshops, 1922. [A very favourable account, based on his visit in Aug. 1920. (The English edn. contains an account of, and attack on, Russia's proceedings in 1921.)]

BALDWIN, O. *Six Prisons and Two Revolutions. Adventures in Transcaucasia and Anatolia, 1920-21.* 271 pp. HS, 1925. [Adventures in Armenia in 1920-1 by a British officer in the service of the Armenian Government. (Told more briefly in his autobiography, *The Questing Beast*. 244 pp. GG, 1932.)]

TROTSKY, L. *Between Red and White. A study of some fundamental questions of revolution, with particular reference to Georgia.* 104 pp. CP, 1922. [Attack on Kautsky and other supporters of the Menshevik regime. Deals with the history of Georgia from the Revolution to Feb. 1922, and prints the manifesto of the Georgian Soviet Congress of 26 Feb. 1922.]

SHAPHIR, J. *Secrets of Menshevik Georgia. The Plot against Soviet Russia Unmasked.* 100 pp. CP, 1923. [General attack on the Menshevik regime, particularly in its relations with the White armies and the Allies; reproduces many documents from the Georgian archives.]

Georgia was visited in 1924 by the B.T.U. Delegation, which devoted a whole section to it in its report (*Russia. The official report of the British Trades Union Delegation*. 250 pp. T.U.C. General Council, 1925). Its conclusions were severely criticised in Georgian circles abroad; see *The British Trade Union Delegation in Georgia, according to Bolshevik newspapers in Georgia* (16 pp. Foreign Bureau of the S.D. Workers' Party of Georgia, 1925).

h. KOLCHAK, THE CZECHS AND THE FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC

For conditions in Turkestan and Outer Mongolia during the years 1917-22, see also V. 6. *g* and *i*. The most important single source for events in Siberia in 1918 and 1919 are the documents relating to the foreign policy of the United States for these years.

The Testimony of Kolchak, and other Siberian materials. Ed. E. Varneck and H. H. Fisher. 466 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1935. [Contains (1) the stenographic report of Kolchak's examination by the Bolsheviks in Jan.-Feb. 1920, (2) the memoirs of the Partisan leader Ovchinnikov, and (3) and (4) brief accounts of the Nicolaevsk massacre and the Japanese coup d'état at Vladivostok in March/April 1920. With long and valuable bibliography, mainly of Russian works; some surprising omissions.]

A good summary of Kolchak's career by his former Chief of Staff, M. I. SMIRNOV, will be found in 'Admiral Kolchak', *Slavonic Review*, xi, 1933, pp. 373-87. See also the Siberian section in D. F. WHITE, *Survival through War and Revolution*, and the admirable record of the Dutch journalist L. GRONDIJS, *La Guerre en Russie et en Sibérie* (574 pp. Paris, 1922). GEN. M. JANIN, the head of the French Military Mission and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Siberia, has left his own account, *Ma Mission en Sibérie, 1918-20* (307 pp. Paris, 1933), an account which is confirmed, perhaps too closely, by GEN. J. ROUQUEROL (*L'Aventure de l'Amiral Kolitchak*. 183 pp. Paris, 1929), a member of his staff, and by J. LASIES in *La Tragédie sibérienne: le drame d'Ekaterinbourg, la fin de*

l'amiral Kolchak (254 pp. Paris, 1920), an excessively journalistic work by another member of the Mission.

On the Czech legion there are two books :

BECVAR, G. *The Lost Legion. A Czechoslovakian Epic.* 256 pp. SP, 1939. [The story of his personal experiences and those of his unit, as told by one of legionaries—the last non-Bolshevik to speak to Kolchak.]

BAERLEIN, H. *The March of the 70,000.* 287 pp. PR, 1926. [Adequate popular account.]

One may mention also the very journalistic account of a French liaison officer attached to the Czech force, A. VERGÉ, *Avec les tchécoslovaques. Invraisemblable et véridique épopée* (206 pp. Paris, 1926). The sections in T. G. MASARYK'S *Making of a State* are disappointingly meagre.

The English contribution is rather slight.

WARD, COL. J. *With the 'Die-Hards' [Middlesex Regiment] in Siberia.* 278 pp. CS, 1920. [An account of the English force in Siberia, from July 1918 to June 1919, by its commander. Useful but sometimes misleading; the author certainly exaggerates his influence over Kolchak. (The brief account in the regimental history of E. WYALL, *The Die-Hards in the Great War* [2 vols. 342, 383 pp. HR, 1926, 1930] is based almost entirely on Ward.)]

HODGES, MAJ. P. *Britmis. A great adventure of the war.* 364 pp. CA, 1931. [Record of his personal experiences (including his escape to China across the Gobi desert) by a member of the British Military Mission. Covers the period Jan. 1919–May 1920.]

VINING, L. E. *Held by the Bolsheviks. The Diary of a British Officer in Russia, 1919–20.* 281 pp. St. Catherine's Press, 1924. [Matter-of-fact diary from May 1919 to his release from imprisonment and departure from Russia in Oct. 1920.]

See also the recollections of CAPT. F. McCULLAGH (*A Prisoner of the Reds*), who like Vining was captured by the Bolsheviks at Krasnoïarsk in Jan. 1920. The part played by the Royal Marines in river operations in Siberia—and in the Murmansk

Expedition—is briefly described in GEN. SIR H. E. BLUMBERG, *Britain's Sea Soldiers* (492 pp. Swiss [Davenport], 1927).

The American accounts are very numerous, but with the exception of that of General Graves they are not of great importance.

GRAVES, GEN. W. S. *America's Siberian Adventure*. Foreword by N. D. Baker. 363 pp. Smith, NY, 1931. [The story of the American Expeditionary Force by its commander. (Its tone, strongly anti-interventionist, and in particular anti-Japanese and anti-Kolchak, has perhaps been coloured by subsequent events, notably the failure of intervention.)]

The most interesting of the other accounts are those by C. W. ACKERMAN (*Trailing the Bolsheviks. 12,000 miles with the Allies in Siberia*. 308 pp. SC, NY, 1919), A. BULLARD (*The Russian Pendulum: Autocracy, Democracy, Bolshevism*. 256 pp. MM, NY, 1919), and F. F. MOORE (*Siberia Today*. 333 pp. AP, NY, 1919). The two books of J. SPARGO (*Russia as an American Problem*. 444 pp. Harper, NY, 1920) and C. G. F. CHANNING (*Siberia's Untouched Treasure. Its future rôle in the world*. 475 pp. P, NY, 1923) devote more attention to Siberia's mineral wealth and the possibility of concessions than to its politics. F. A. SUTTON's autobiography, *One-Arm Sutton* (297 pp. H, 1933), is mainly a racy account of trading and adventure on the Manchurian frontier of Siberia in 1919–20. J. ROSETT's pamphlet, *The Rise of a New Russian Autocracy. Kolchak, Autocrat and Tyrant* (32 pp. ILP, 1919), is the reprint of an article in the *New Republic* by a Russian-speaking American who was in Siberia for nine months on behalf of the American Committee of Public Information; it is a fervid denunciation of Kolchak and his regime. See also A. R. WILLIAMS, *Through the Russian Revolution*.

The following books are by German or Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war; only the second of Dwinger's books is really very relevant to the political events of the period.

DWINGER, E. E. *The Army behind Barbed Wire: a Siberian diary*. Transl. I. F. D. Morrow. 341 pp. AU, 1930.

DWINGER, E. E. *Between White and Red*. Transl. M. SAUNDERS. 492 pp. SC, NY, 1932.

Highly coloured reminiscences ; the first vol., of purely personal interest, describes his internment in Siberia in 1915-18, but the second describes his experiences in Kolchak's army and during the great retreat.

WILD, M. *Secret Service on the Russian Front*. Transl. from the German by A. Haigh. 324 pp. Bles, 1932. [Covers his experiences as a spy, as well as his captivity in Siberia from May 1917 to May 1918 and his final escape.]

KRÖGER, T. *The Forgotten Village. Four Years in Siberia*. 320 pp. HN, 1920. [The life of a German who was interned at the outbreak of war and lived in various camps to 1919. Of purely personal and local interest ; outside events scarcely reached his prison.]

MARKOVITS, R. *Siberian Garrison*. Transl. from the Hungarian. 387 pp. PD, 1929. [Semi-autobiographical novel about his experiences in prison camps in Eastern Siberia between 1915 and 1921.]

ETTIGHOFFER, P. C. *Tovarish. The Odyssey of a Siberian Exile*. Transl. from the German by M. H. Jerome. 288 pp. HN, 1935. [Describes the escape of a German conjuror from Siberia to China during the War.]

See also H. T. PRICE, *Between Boche and Bolshevik*, for some account of conditions at Irkutsk in 1917-18.

On the Far Eastern Republic the best work is :

NORTON, H. K. *The Far Eastern Republic of Siberia*. 311 pp. AU, 1923: [Excellent short history and description up to the middle of 1922. Includes the Constitution and other documents.]

There is a good brief account in H. M. VINACKE, *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* (479 pp. AU [US pr.], 1928). An interesting account of her travels in the Far Eastern Republic and Mongolia in 1922 is given by M. E. HARRISON, *Red Bear and Yellow Dragon* (296 pp. Brentano, NY, 1924).

One may mention also the following works, published at Washington by the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic to the Washington Conference in 1922 :

The Far Eastern Republic: its natural resources, trade and industry. 368 pp. [The various sections of this were also published separately: 'Trade and Industries' (108 pp.), 'Fur Industry' (13 pp.), 'Forest Resources' (12 pp.), 'Fisheries' (35 pp.), 'Gold Resources and Gold Mining Industry' (69 pp.), 'Coal Mining Industry' (82 pp.), 'Mineral Resources' (61 pp.), 'Constitution' (30 pp.).]

Japanese Intervention in the Russian Far East. 165 pp. [Documents 1917-22.]

Short Outline of the History of the Far Eastern Republic. 64 pp.
Memorandum of the Special Delegation of the Far Eastern Republic. 12 pp.

A counterblast to the second of these items, and a justification of Japan's proceedings, will be found in D. C. H. D'AVIGDOR ET WINDSOR, *La Sibérie orientale et le Japon. Etude politique et économique. Suivie de la Déclaration de Baron Shidehara à la Conférence de Washington sur la politique japonaise en Sibérie* (63 pp. Paris, 1922). An earlier apologist of Japanese intervention was F. COLEMAN, *Japan moves North. The inside story of the struggle in Siberia* (178 pp. CS, 1918).

For an account of the end of the Civil War in Yakutia (1923) by a Red Partisan leader, see I. STROD, *Civil War in the Taiga. A story of guerilla warfare in the forests of Eastern Siberia* (152 pp. MB [USSR pr.], 1933. Repr. in *International Omnibus*, No. 2. *Tales of War and Revolution.* L, 1935).

5. THE FAMINE OF 1921-2

The fullest information in English about the famine is contained in the following four works:

The Famine in Russia. Statistics and documents presented to the Brussels Conference on Famine Relief. 50 pp. RTD, 1921. [The material placed before the (abortive) Brussels Conference summoned on Nansen's initiative in Nov. 1921—account of relief work carried out by the Government and by relief organisations. (Repr. from articles in the *Russian Information and Review*.)]

The Restoration of Culture in the Famine Area of Russia. Being the Interim Report of the State Economic Planning Commission of the Council for Labour and Defence of the RSFSR. Transl. E. and C. Paul. 167 pp. LPC, 1922. [Statement of facts and projects by a number of Russian experts.]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS. *Report on Economic Conditions in Russia, with special reference to the famine of 1921-22 and the state of agriculture.* (C. 705, M. 451. 1922, II.) 164 pp. Geneva, 1922. [The fullest account, with statistics, documents, maps, and bibliography of books (mainly Russian) on recent economic history.]

FISHER, H. H. *The Famine in Soviet Russia, 1919-1923. The Operations of the American Relief Administration.* 609 pp. MM (NY), 1927. [The standard account of the work of the American Relief Administration, which was by far the most important foreign organisation engaged in the task of relief.]

Much information may be found in the contemporary Anglo-Russian press, particularly in the *Russian Information and Review* and *Russian Life*, and in such papers as the *Manchester Guardian*.

. There are some interesting eye-witness accounts :

BECHHOFFER, C. E. *Through Starving Russia. Being the record of a journey to Moscow and the Volga provinces in August and September 1921.* 165 pp. M, 1921. [The most valuable description of conditions in the first year of the famine. (Also interesting observations on Moscow and the condition of the intelligentsia, and a conversation with Chicherin.)]

GIBBS, P. *Since Then.* 414 pp. HN, 1930. [Includes an account of his visit to Moscow and the famine districts in 1921 in connection with famine relief. (Also sketches of the Civil War, mainly as seen through the eyes of White refugees at Constantinople.)]

GOLDER, F. A., and HUTCHINSON, L. *On the trail of the Russian famine.* 819 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1927. [A record of their experiences in many parts of Russia, between

Aug. 1921 and March 1923, by two especially well qualified officials of the A.R.A.]

PAYNE, M. A. *Plague, Pestilence and Famine*. 146 pp. N, 1923. [Letters from an English nurse who worked for the Society of Friends in the Volga area between March and Aug. 1922.]

HAINES, A. *The Russian Famine*. 15 pp. Friends' Relief Committee, 1921. [Detailed account of conditions in some villages in the Samara region in Sept. 1921, with a plea for further help. By a Quaker Relief worker.]

FRY, A. R. *My Visit to Russia*. 12 pp. Friends' Relief Committee, 1922. [Visit to Buzuluk in the famine region in Jan. 1922.]

See also their accounts of journeys in the famine areas in 1921 and in 1922-3 by G. KRIST in *Prisoner in the Forbidden Land* (1938) and R. Fox in *People of the Steppes* (1925).

There are a few other pamphlets.

STEVENI, W. B. *Europe's Great Calamity: the Russian Famine. An appeal for the Russian peasant*. 32 pp. Griffiths, 1922. [An appeal, by a former newspaper correspondent and relief worker in Russia, for support for Nansen's mission. (Dated Christmas 1921.)]

The Famine. 4 pp. RLC, June 1922. [Pamphlet alleging that the famine was the fault of the Bolsheviks.]

First Workers' Loan and International Help Campaign for Soviet Russia. 29 pp. Workers' International Russian Relief, 1923. [Leaflet describing the work of the WIRR and appealing for support.]

The story of Quaker relief work is told in A. RUTH FRY, *A Quaker Adventure. The Story of Nine Years' Relief and Reconstruction* (389 pp. N, 1926). There is a good deal about the Famine in V. ZENZINOV, *Deserted: the story of the children abandoned in Soviet Russia* (1931).

6. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

This section includes the bulk of the pamphlet literature on the Revolution, as well as a certain number of books.

a. BOOKS

- ANSTEY, F. *Red Europe*. 176 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1921. [Sympathetic account by an Australian of the various Left Wing regimes set up in Europe in and after 1917 (to the end of 1919). Interesting for citations from contemporary press.]
- BRENNAN, H. *Sidelights on Russia*. 112 pp. Nutt, 1918. [Defence of the Provisional Govt. against the Bolsheviks, who are represented as a rabble in German pay. (Autumn 1918.)]
- DAVIS, M. W. *Open Gates to Russia*. 315 pp. Harper (US pr.), 1920. [Deals with the possibilities of American trade in Russia and of assistance in reconstruction. (Written 1919.)]
- FARBMAN, M. S. *Russia and the Struggle for Peace*. 188 pp. AU, 1918. [Good account of the collapse of the army and the old regime, and the struggle of the Bolsheviks for peace.]
- HEYKING, BARON A. *Problems confronting Russia, and affecting Russo-British political and economic intercourse. A retrospect and forecast*. 219 pp. K, 1918. [A series of essays, mostly reprinted magazine articles, on events during the last days of Tsardom and after the Revolution. Interesting as showing the ignorance of even a well-informed and clear-headed Russian expert.]
- HYNDMAN, H. M. *The Evolution of Revolution*. 406 pp. GR, 1920. [The final section is a very hostile account of the Bolshevik Revolution, by a veteran English Socialist.]
- MILIUKOV, P. *Bolshevism: an International Danger. Its doctrine and its practice through War and Revolution*. 303 pp. AU, 1920. [A violently hostile study by the former Cadet leader; useful on the international ramifications of Bolshevism and its propaganda abroad.]
- NORDMAN, N. *Peace Problems. Russia's Economics*. 127 pp. Putney Press, 1919. [A study by a Russian economist on the effect of the war on Russia's economic life; of little value for the Bolshevik regime, which the author regards as a passing phase.]

- PAUL, E. and C. *Creative Revolution. A Study of Communist Ergatocracy.* 224 pp. AU, 1920. [A general study of revolutions, with particular reference to the lessons to be learned from that of the Bolsheviks. (Useful bibl. of the pamphlets of various British Left Wing organisations in 1917-20.)]
- PREEV, Z. N. *The Russian Revolution and Who's Who in Russia.* 119 pp. Bale, 1917. [Brief account of the February Revolution and short biographies of prominent political figures. Omits the Bolsheviks entirely.]
- RAINE, G. E., and LUBOFF, E. *Bolshevik Russia.* 192 pp. N, 1920. [Anti-Bolshevik brochure, including lengthy quotations from official Soviet documents (e.g. Rykov's report of 22 Jan. 1920 on the economic situation).]
- The Russian Almanac, 1919.* Compiled and ed. by N. Peacock. 209 pp. ES (for the Anglo-Russian Trust), 1919. [Mainly pre-revolutionary information, with a diary of events.]
- VINOGRADOFF, SIR P. (ed.). *The Reconstruction of Russia.* 68 pp. OUP, 1919. [Four essays: P. VINOGRADOFF, 'The Situation in Russia'; N. NORDMAN, 'Russia as an Economic Organism'; S. L. POLIAKOFF-LITOVITZEFF, 'Russian Jews and the League of Nations Union'; I. V. SHKLOVSKY, 'The Ukrainian Question'. By Russian liberals completely out of touch with the existing situation.]

b. PAMPHLETS

- Allied Agents in Soviet Russia.* [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.
- ANDREIEV, L. *S.O.S. An Appeal to the Allies.* Intro. by P. N. Miliukov. 28 pp. RLC, 1919. [Interventionist appeal by émigré novelist.]
- ARNOLD, S. *New Russia. Anniversary Bulletin of the Russian Revolution.* 28 pp. Dublin, 1918. [Pamphlet praising the Bolshevik regime.]
- Attacks on Russia during 1921.* 77 pp. HOR, 1921. [Correspondence and interviews with Polish, Japanese, Finnish, French, Rumanian and Russian representatives in London, and an interview between Krassin and T.U. representatives on 29 Nov. 1921.]

British Soldiers in Russia. [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.

British Troops in the Caucasus. [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.

The Building of the New Russia. Transl. from 'Le Populaire' by E. Coyle. 15 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1919. [Much-censored translation of an article in the anniversary number for Nov. 1919.]

[BURTZEY, V. L.]. *Damnation to You, Bolsheviks! A Russian Socialist on Bolshevism.* 15 pp. 20th Century Press, 1918. [General attack by escaped Russian Socialist.]

CANDLER, E. *Bolshevism. The dream and the fact.* 82 pp. OUP, 1920. [Attack on the Soviet regime.]

Can Soviet Russia be a Market for Europe? 4 pp. RLC, 1922. [Soviet Russia too uncertain and untrustworthy to be dealt with.]

The Case for Bessarabia. A Collection of Documents on the Rumanian Occupation, with a preface by P. Miliukov. 64 pp. 2nd edn. 71 pp. RLC, 1919. [Various documents dealing with the Rumanian occupation and its injustice; the additions in the 2nd edn. are important.]

C. E. B. *The Facts about the Bolsheviks.* 32 pp. MM, 1919. [Extracts from the Russian press, statements by hostile observers, &c.; much use is made of H. V. Keeling's book.]

COCKS, J. S. *Russia and the Allies.* [?] pp. PRIB, 1919. [General attack on Intervention.]

The Council of Action. Report of the Special Conference on Labour and the Russian-Polish War (13 August 1920). 24 pp. LP, 1920. [Attack on the Polish invasion of Russia. Important.]

COURNOS, J. *London under the Bolsheviks. A Londoner's Dream on returning from Petrograd.* 12 pp. RLC, 1919. [Picturesque anti-Bolshevik propaganda: repr. from *The Nineteenth Century*.]

EDWARDS, G. M. *The Anti-Bolshevik Crusade.* [?] pp. Privately pr., 1920.

FARBMAN, M. *The Russian Revolution and the War.* 46 pp. Headley, 1917. [Intelligent comments on the February Revolution, by a former *Manchester Guardian* correspondent in Petrograd, in the form of a lecture to the National Council of Civil Liberties on 20 July 1917.]

- The Food Situation in Russia. True Facts.* [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.
- GAVRONSKY, J. O. *The Truth about the New Russia.* 16 pp. U, 1917. [Speech of 24 June 1917 attacking the old regime and defending the Provisional Govt.]
- GETTLICH, V. *The German Grip on Russia.* Transl. from the French by M. J. Davoren. [?] pp. K, 1918. [Represents the Bolsheviks as tools of the Germans.]
- [GORKI, M.]. *Maxim Gorki on the Bolsheviks.* [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.
- GORTER, H. *The World Revolution.* Transl. H. McMillan. 77 pp. SIRB, Glasgow, 1920. [Appeal to the world to follow Russia's example.]
- HÉROYS, B. *Lenin's Fighting Force. Why Soviet Russia is bound to collapse.* 18 pp. RLC, 1919. [Interventionist plea; the Red Army could not face a serious attack. By a former professor at the Moscow Military Academy.]
- How a City Soviet is elected in Russia.* [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.
- HUMPHREY, A. W. *The Allies' Crime against Russia. An Exposure of a Capitalist Conspiracy.* (ILP Pamphlets, N.S., 11.) 24 pp. ILP, 1919. [Attack on intervention, with many press citations.]
- HUMPHRIES, W. R. *Life in Russia Today.* 9 pp. WSF, 1919. [General account by an American welfare worker.]
- In the Shadow of Death. Statement of Red Cross Sisters in the Bolshevik Prisons at Kiev.* [?] pp. RLC, 1920.
- ISSAIEV, V. I. *Bolshevism in Russia through British Eyes.* 56 pp. RLC, 1919. [Pamphlet made up of citations from Cmd. 8 (1919) and statements in Parliament.]
- Japanese Rule in Siberia. An appeal to the Labour Party Conference by R. J. Davies [and others].* 16 pp. HOR, 1922. [Attack on Japanese actions in the Far East.]
- The Japs in Siberia. An Appeal to International Organised Labour.* 8 pp. HOR, 1922. [Attack on Japanese, reproducing Kushnariov's memorandum of 16 Dec. 1921 on the state of the Far Eastern Republic.]
- JONES, C. S. *Bolshevism. Its Cause and Cure.* Foreword by Frederic Harrison. 96 pp. SP, 1920. [Bolshevism as 'state-slavery', and its danger to England.]

- KADOMTZEFF, B. *The Russian Collapse. A Politico-Economic Essay.* 48 pp. Roworth, 1918. [The effects of the blockade on the disintegration of Russian life; written May 1918 and published after the Armistice.]
- KING, J. *The Russian Revolution. The First Year.* (UDC, Pamphlet 26a.) 31 pp. UDC, 1918. [Survey of Soviet achievements.]
- „ *Russia and her Allies.* 27 pp. Reformers' Bookstall, Glasgow, 1919. [Attack on Russia's treatment by her quondam allies.]
- „ *Soviets and Soviet Government. How it arose in Russia.* (ILP Pamphlets, N.S., 7.) 8 pp. ILP, 1919. [Explanatory.]
- „ *Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks.* (ILP Pamphlets, N.S., 13.) 19 pp. ILP, 1919. [Sympathetic sketch of Bolshevik history and aims.]
- „ *Why does killing go on in Russia? A scathing exposure of the Allies' efforts to crush New Russia.* 8 pp. Reformers' Bookstall, Glasgow, 1919. [Attack on Intervention.]
- „ *Three Bloody Men.* 8 pp. Reformers' Bookstall, Glasgow, 1919. [Attack on Mannerheim, Denikin and Kolchak.]
- „ *A Brace of — ?* (Reformers' Series, No. 37.) 13 pp. Reformers' Bookstall, Glasgow, 1920. [Sequel to preceding item, up to Jan. 1920.]
- Labour's Russian Policy. Peace with Soviet Russia.* 15 pp. LP, 1920. [Attack on Intervention and appeal for peace, Sept. 1920.]
- LEE, H. W. *Bolshevism: a curse and danger to the workers.* 16 pp. 20th Century Press, 1919. [Labour pamphlet.]
- Liberal America and Soviet Russia.* 4 pp. PRIB, 1919. [Extracts from speeches at a dinner given in New York to two Soviet representatives.]
- LUXEMBURG, R. *The Russian Revolution. An Appreciative Criticism.* [?] pp. Dreadnought Publ., 1922. [There is also a little about her attitude towards the Revolution in P. FRÖHLICH, *Rosa Luxemburg. Her Life and Work.* Transl. E. Fitzgerald. 336 pp. G, 1940.]

- LYON, M. *Indemnities and Bolshevism*. 36 pp. 'English Review', 1920. [Repr. from *The English Review*, Feb. 1920.]
- MALONE, C. J. L. 'What are a few Churchills——?' 15 pp. CP, 1921. [Speech in the dock at his trial, 17 Jan. 1921.]
- MILIUKOV, P. N. *Russia and England*. 52 pp. RLC, 1920. [Plea for Intervention and the recognition of a 'White' Govt.]
- MOLLER, L. A. *Soviets for the British* [?] pp. WSF, 1919.
- MORESBY, E. F. *A Vision of the Road*. (*Russia: some studies*). [?] pp. 'Russia Quarterly', 1920. [Poems interpreting 'the soul of Russia', some dealing with the Revolution and the end of the Tsar.]
- NEWBOLD, J. T. W. *Bankers, Bondholders and Bolsheviks*. (ILP Pamphlets, N.S., 20.) 16pp. ILP, 1919. [Information about financial interests involved.]
- OLSUFIEVA, CTSS. A. *H.R.H. the Grand Duchess Elisabeth Feodorovna*. 16 pp. MU, 1922.
- PAUL, W. *Hands off Russia! An analysis of the economics of Allied Intervention in Russia*. 15 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1919. [Account of financial interests involved.]
- Peace with Russia. Organised Labour's Demand*. (National 'Hands Off Russia' Committee.) 32 pp. Nat. Labour Party, Manchester, 1920. [Collection of anti-interventionist resolutions by Labour bodies.]
- Peasant Communes. The Progress of Communism in Russian Villages*. [?] pp. PRIB, 1918.
- POTTER, S. C. *Russia before and after the Revolution. A common sense account of the recent events in Russia*. 63 pp. Daniel, 1920. [Attack on Tsardom and Intervention, and defence of new regime, with some curious citations from the contemporary press and literature.]
- PREEV, Z. N. *The Russian Riddle*. 52 pp. Bale, 1918. [Anti-Bolshevik pamphlet, written in March 1918, explaining Russia's economic and military collapse and appealing for British and American aid in reconstruction.]
- The Present Struggle in Russia*. [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.
- READE, J. B. C. *The Perils of Bolshevism*. 16 pp. Prot. Truth Soc., 1920. [Anti-Bolshevik pamphlet.]

- 'Reconstruction Society.' [Various leaflets, e.g. *Bolshevism in Britain* (N.S., 18), *Ten Good Reasons against the Bolsheviks* (N.S., 36).]
- Red Paper on Executions and Atrocities committed in Russia by Czecho-Slovaks and Russian Counter-Revolutionaries, assisted by the Allies.* 15 pp. PRIB, 1919. [Extracts from *Izvestia* and other papers, summer and autumn 1918.]
- RICKMAN, J. *An Eyewitness from Russia.* 24 pp. PRIB, 1919. [By a Quaker relief worker who came back across Siberia in July 1918. Mainly about the Czechs. Articles repr. from the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Labour Leader*.]
- ROSTOVTSEV, M. I. *Proletarian Culture.* 18 pp. RLC, 1919. [Denial that the Bolsheviks have carried on any cultural work.]
- Russia in the German Grip. The Policy of the Allies.* 11 pp. 'The Times', 1918. [Reprint of 7 articles (19-26 Aug.) on German influence and on conditions in Russia, by a Russian who had just left the country.]
- Russian Workers and the Control of Industry.* [?] pp. PRIB, 1919.
- Russia's Object-Lesson in Socialism.* 4 pp. HR, 1922. [Anti-Socialist leaflet, with extracts from Lenin and Leslie Urquhart on Bolshevik business incompetence.]
- Russo-British Peace Negotiations. A Year's 'Progress'.* 8 pp. HOR, 1921. [Notes on relations in 1920-1 for Labour speakers.]
- SANDERS, W. S. *The Tragedy of Russia.* 13 pp. Smith, 1918. [Attack on the Bolsheviks and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk by an English Labour leader.]
- SAROLEA, C. *The Russian Revolution and the War.* 100 pp. 2nd edn. 181 pp. AU, 1917. [Pamphlet written immediately after the February Revolution to 'put it across'. The 2nd edn. was written later in the summer, and shows only a very hazy grasp of the situation.]
- SAVINKOV, B. V. *Open Letter to the Right Honourable David Lloyd George on British Relations with the Russian Government.* 7 pp. Waterlow, 1922.

- SHKLOVSKY, I. V. *Mr. Squeers' Academy. An Anti-Bolshevik Pamphlet.* 7 pp. ES, 1919.
Russia under the Bolsheviks. 40 pp. RLC, 1919. [Extracts from the Russian press on living conditions, the Cheka, &c.]
- Social Reconstruction in Russia. (Series II. Child Welfare.)* [?] pp. PRIB, 1920.
- The Story of Bolshevism. A Warning to British Women.* 8 pp. National Publ., 1919.
- TCHERTKOFF, V. *Save Russia. A Remarkable Appeal to England by Tolstoy's Literary Executor in a Letter to his English Friends.* 18 pp. DL, 1920. [An appeal, dated from Moscow on 6 Oct. 1919, to lift the blockade, with an article in the same sense by another Tolstoyan, P. Birukov.]
- Trade with Russia.* 8 pp. HOR, 1921. [Interview of Labour and Trade Union leaders with Krassin.]
- TYRKOVA-WILLIAMS, A. *Why Soviet Russia is Starving.* 24 pp. RLC, 1919. [Argument that the Soviet system is responsible.]
- The Unchanging Russia.* [?] pp. Friends War Victims Relief Cttee., 1919. [Describes life of peasants and Quaker relief workers.]
- WEST, J. *The Russian Revolution and British Democracy.* (Fabian Tract, No. 184.) 23 pp. Fabian Soc., 1917. [Sketch of Revolutionary aspirations; Aug. 1917.]
- WILLIAMS, A. R. *Questions and Answers about Russia.* 19 pp. WSF, 1919. [Extracts from an interview. Very interesting.]
- WILLIAMS, H. *The Spirit of the Russian Revolution.* 29 pp. RLC, 1919. [Repr. of article in the *Round Table*, Sept. 1919; interesting on the Provisional Govt.]
- [YOUNG, D.] *British Consul replies to Anti-Bolshevik slanders. Correspondence between Rear-Admiral Kemp and Douglas Young.* 11 pp. PRIB, 1918. [Repr. from *The Times*, Dec. 18, 1918 to Jan. 6, 1919.]
- ZANGWILL, I. *Hands off Russia!* 8 pp. WSF, 1919. (Anti-interventionist pamphlet.)
- ZETKIN, C. *Through Dictatorship to Democracy.* Transl. E. and C. Paul. 15 pp. SLP, 1919. [Reply to Kautsky.]

III. THE SOVIET STATE

1. GENERAL WORKS

a. BOOKS

THE following list mainly consists of works by authors who, whatever their conclusions, may reasonably be regarded as entitled to have their views on Soviet Russia taken into account. It includes a few books which may be regarded as of a crudely partisan character, but these are by authors whose special contacts with Russia gives them a claim to be heard.

BASILY, N. DE. *Russia under Soviet Rule. Twenty years of Bolshevik experiment.* 508 pp. AU, 1938. [The most thorough survey of Soviet history and achievements yet made by an emigré; despite the author's hostility to the regime, and the fact that he has not visited the USSR, it is a most valuable book. Deals especially with economic affairs.]

BENN, E. J. P. *About Russia.* 168 pp. BN, 1930. [A general account of and attack on all things Soviet, based largely on the gossip of emigrés in the Baltic States and condemning all intercourse with such a mad and dangerous country.]

Bolshevism and the West. Scott Nearing, affirmative. Bertrand Russell, negative. *A debate on the resolution: 'That the Soviet Form of Government is applicable to Western Civilisation.'* Introduced by S. Untermeyer. 78 pp. AU, 1924. [Report of a debate held in the United States.]

Britain and the Soviets. The Congress of Peace and Friendship with the USSR. 197 pp. L, 1936. [Report of a Congress held in London in Dec. 1935, with summaries of the papers read. These cover many aspects of Soviet life, and are by recognised experts.]

BUXTON, D. F. *The Challenge of Bolshevism. A new social ideal.* 95 pp. AU, 1928. [Sympathetic and well-informed

study of the Bolshevik 'ethic' by an English Quaker ; based partly on a short visit in 1927.]

CHAMBERLIN, W. H. *Soviet Russia. A Living record and a history.* 453 pp. D, 1930. [Good, impartial, and fairly favourable survey ; the author was correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in Moscow from 1922 onwards. (Excellent bibl., mostly of Russian publications.)]

„ *Russia's Iron Age.* 400 pp. D, 1935. [Deals largely with the changes of 1929-34, the collectivisation of the peasants and the hardships involved in the Five-Year Plan ; much less favourable than his previous book. (See also his autobiography, *Confessions of an Individualist* [336 pp. D, 1940], in which he describes his disillusionment with the regime and underlines the conclusions of *Russia's Iron Age*. His other book, *A False Utopia. Collectivism in Theory and Practice* [264 pp. D, 1937], deals only incidentally with Russia, and adds nothing that is not in his earlier books.)]

CHESSIN, S. DE. *Darkness from the East.* Transl. from the French by R. J. Dingle. 252 pp. HA, 1930. [Comprehensive assault on all aspects of Soviet life, and in particular on its morals, with copious citations from Soviet press and literature indicating the universal depravity of the country.]

DAVIES, J. E. *Mission to Moscow.* 415 pp. G, 1942. [A book compiled from the diary, official despatches, and official and private correspondence of the American ambassador in Moscow 1936-8, with some notes about subsequent events. Of outstanding importance for the events of these years.]

DILLON, E. J. *Russia Today and Tomorrow.* 338 pp. DT, 1929. [Sketches of life, the peasantry, crime and punishment, &c., by a journalist whose knowledge of pre-war Russia was almost unequalled and who visited the Soviet Union in 1928. (He had previously been violently hostile to the new regime, so that the relatively friendly character of the book was an impressive tribute.)]

DOBB, M. *Soviet Russia and the World.* ('World Problems of Today' Series.) 178 pp. SJ, 1932. [Brief clear sketch

of contemporary Russia, with the emphasis on economic affairs.]

DURANTY, W. *I write as I please*. 327 pp. HH, 1935. 2nd edn. 333 pp. HH, 1937. [Gossipy record of his life in Russia from 1921 onwards by the doyen of foreign correspondents in Moscow. Very favourable to the regime. (The 2nd edn. has an interpolated chapter on the events following Kirov's murder.)]

EATON, R. *Under the Red Flag*. 262 pp. BR (US pr.), 1924. [Unfavourable account of his impressions as correspondent of the *Daily Mail* in 1923. He spent most of his time in Russia in prison, and his record includes some interesting meetings with particular prisoners.]

EDDY, S. *The Challenge of Russia*. 278 pp. HJ, 1931. [A fair-minded study by an American Y.M.C.A. publicist who has repeatedly visited Russia and who, while deploring some of its proceedings, does full justice to its achievements.]

„ *Russia Today. What can we learn from it?* 316 pp. AU, 1934. [Uses much the same material as his earlier book, *The Challenge of Russia*, but incorporates later experiences. (There is also a chapter on Russia in his book, *The Challenge of Europe* [335 pp. AU, 1933], and some interesting comments on student mentality in pre- and post-revolutionary Russia in his autobiography, *A Pilgrimage of ideas, or The re-education of Sherwood Eddy* [336 pp. AU, 1935].)]

FARBMAN, M. *Bolshevism in Retreat. After Lenin*. 312 pp. CO, 1923. [Competent articles by a Left-Wing journalist, who had visited Russia several times between 1920 and 1922, on Lenin, the organisation of the Soviet State, the agrarian revolution, &c.]

„ *After Lenin. The New Phase in Russia*. 280 pp. PR, 1924. [A similar work, using later material and dealing particularly with Lenin's successors and with the NEP. (See also his chapter on "Holy" Russia' in the 2nd vol. of *These Eventful Years. The 20th Century in the Making* [2 vols. 692, 695 pp. Encyclopedia Britannica Co., US pr., 1924].)]

- FARSON, N. *Seeing Red. Today in Russia.* 275 pp. ES, 1930. [Sketches of life in Russia by a journalist who spent a year there in 1928-9 and had known the country a little in pre-revolutionary days. (Some interesting posters are reproduced in colour.) See also his autobiography, *The Way of a Transgressor.*]
- FEILER, A. *The Experiment of Bolshevism.* Transl. from the German by H. J. Stenning. 256 pp. AU, 1930. [General survey by a German scholar, based on wide reading and a visit of 3 months in 1929. Intelligent and unfriendly.]
- GIBBERD, K. *Soviet Russia. An Introduction.* (Royal Institute of International Affairs.) 77 pp. OUP, 1942. [Admirable brief introduction on its history, institutions, and conditions of life.]
- GODDEN, G. M. *Russia under the Red Flag. A record of Socialism in our time.* 194 pp. BO, 1929. [General sketch of Soviet institutions and conditions from the Roman Catholic point of view.]
- GRAHAM, S. *Russia in Division.* 293 pp. MM, 1925. [Journalistic sketches of a journey outside Russia's frontiers, from Finland to Rumania, with some account of the emigrés in France and elsewhere and a savage attack on the Soviet regime. Reflects the emigré viewpoint.]
- GRIFFIN, F. *Soviet Scene. A newspaperman's Close-ups of New Russia.* 279 pp. MM (Canada pr.), 1932. [General and fairly sympathetic sketches of life in Russia by the correspondent of the *Toronto Star.*]
- GUEST, L. HADEN. *The New Russia.* 488 pp. BU, 1926. [Careful study of the constitution, law, foreign policy, economic development, &c., by an English Left Wing publicist and politician. (Essentially a predecessor of the Webbs' book.)]
- GURIAN, W. *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice.* Transl. from the German by E. I. Watkin. 402 pp. SH, 1932. [A hostile but interesting and valuable analysis of the theory and practice of Bolshevism by a German Roman Catholic scholar. Includes some interesting documents. (Dr GURIAN's two other works, *The Future of Bolshevism* [Transl. E. I. Watkin. 125 pp. SH, 1936] and *The Rise*

- and Decline of Marxism* [Transl. E. F. Pealer. 184 pp. BO, 1938], are mainly concerned with the weakness of Communism and the declining reputation of the Soviet Union in Left Wing circles in other countries in the late 'thirties.))
- HAMILTON, C. *Modern Russia as seen by an Englishwoman*. 239 pp. DT, 1934. [Sympathetic sketch by an English journalist, mainly as seen on a visit in 1923.]
- HINDUS, M. *Humanity Uprooted*. 370 pp. CA, 1929. 2nd edn. 338 pp. CA, 1931. [Sympathetic account of life in Russia by an American (Russian-born) journalist; one of the most balanced books on the subject. (The section on the peasantry was revised in the 2nd edn. to take in the collectivisation movement.)]
- „ *The Great Offensive*. 286 pp. G, 1933. [Repeats much the same material as in his earlier books, but with emphasis on the changes brought about by the Five-Year Plan.]
- „ *Russia Fights On*. 255 pp. CO, 1942. [A general sketch of the changes which have produced a new Russia, and made possible and effective its resistance to German aggression.]
- HOPPER, B. *What Russia intends. The peoples, plans and policy of Soviet Russia*. 283 pp. CA, 1931. [Rather elementary but clear and fair-minded sketch of Russian conditions in the early 'thirties.]
- IELITA-WILCZKOVSKI, C. *Before and after Stalin*. Transl. from the French by G. Knupffer. 251 pp. SB, 1939. [A 'philosophical' interpretation of modern Russian history by an emigré.]
- ISWOLSKY, H. *Soviet Man—Now*. Transl. from the French. 86 pp. SH, 1936. [A semi-mystical interpretation of modern Russian developments by the daughter of a Tsarist Foreign Minister.]
- JOHNSON, H. *The Socialist Sixth of the World*. 884 pp. G, 1939. [A very favourable general sketch of the ideals and achievements of the Bolsheviks by the Dean of Canterbury. Completed in the summer of 1939, with an epilogue written after the outbreak of war. (See also his pamphlet, *What I saw in Russia*. 7 pp. Anglo-Soviet Campaign Cttee., 1942.)]

- KARLGREN, A. *Bolshevist Russia*. Transl. from the Swedish. 811 pp. AU, 1927. [General survey of the institutions and social life of the USSR up to the end of 1924; very depressing in its conclusions, particularly in the sphere of culture. By the Professor of Slavonic Studies at Copenhagen. (He knew pre-war Russia, and revisited the country in 1924.)]
- KAUTSKY, K. *Bolshevism at a Deadlock*. Transl. from the German by B. Pritchard. 193 pp. AU, 1931. [Hostile survey of Soviet achievements by a veteran Socialist, with his aspirations for a new revolution to overthrow the ruling clique.]
- LAWTON, L. *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1926*. 524 pp. MM, 1926. [A general account of Russia under the new regime, by a writer who knew pre-revolutionary Russia and paid a prolonged visit to the Soviet Union in 1924. With sections on art, literature, &c.]
- LEE, H. *Twenty Years After. Life in the USSR today*. 172 pp. LW, 1937. [Description of the form of government and life in the Soviet Union, by an American Communist who lived there for 7 years.]
- LEE, I. *USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). A World Enigma*. 192 pp. BN, 1927. [An attempt to 'explain' the USSR (as reverting to Capitalism) by an American who spent ten days in Russia and met some of its leaders in 1927.]
- LODER, J. DE V. *Bolshevism in Perspective*. 256 pp. AU, 1931. [An account of the rise of the Bolsheviks to power, the working of the system, and conditions in Russia in 1929-30. Based on reading and two visits of 4 months in 1929 and 1930. (Brief bibl. of works in English.)]
- LYONS, E. *Assignment in Utopia*. 658 pp. HA, 1938. [A bitter record of rather over-emphasised disillusionment by an American Communist who was in Russia as a journalist from 1928 to 1934. Important.]
- „ *Modern Moscow*. 286 pp. HB, 1935. [Entertaining but unfriendly sketches of life in Moscow and Soviet conditions during his period of residence in Russia.]

- MACKIEWICZ, S. *Russian Minds in Fetters*. Introd. by Prince E. Sapieha. 182 pp. AU, 1932. [An interpretation of Russian conditions and aims by a Polish journalist who visited Russia in 1930 (?). Unilluminating.]
- MAKEEV, N., and O'HARA, V. *Russia*. ('The Modern World' Series.) 346 pp. BN, 1925. [The first attempt, once it was evident that the Bolshevik regime had come to stay, to describe the new Russia and its relations with the old. Inadequate and unfavourable, neither author having any personal knowledge of post-revolutionary Russia. (Useful bibl.)]
- MALEVSKY-MALEVICH, P. (ed.). *Russia—USSR. A Complete Handbook*. 712 pp. WN (US pr.), 1934. [A series of detailed and comprehensive studies, for the most part by pre-revolutionary experts with a strong anti-Bolshevik bias.]
- „ (ed.). *The Soviet Union Today*. 102 pp. WN (US pr.), 1936. [Supplement to the preceding item, bringing it up to date and supplying the index to both vols.]
- MILIUKOV, P. N. *Russia Today and Tomorrow*. 392 pp. MM (US pr.), 1922. [Eleven lectures given in America in the autumn of 1921, attacking the Bolsheviks and dealing generally with their history between 1917 and 1921.]
- MONZIE, A. DE. *New Russia*. Transl. from the French. 374 pp. AU, 1932. [Clear and sympathetic sketch of the USSR, its origins, geography, constitution, industrial organisation, &c. Rather thin; no bibl. or references.]
- The New Russia. Eight Talks broadcast by H. R. Knickerbocker and others*. 126 pp. F, 1931. [H. R. KNICKERBOCKER, 'Everyday Life'; SIR J. RUSSELL, 'Communism on the Land'; SIR B. PARES, 'Russia: the Old and the New'; M. S. MILLER, 'The Five-Year Plan'; B. M. JONES, 'Technical Education in Russia'; S. TALBOT, 'The Five-Year Plan: how it works in industry'; F. OWEN, 'Transport'; H. G. WELLS, 'Summing Up'.]
- PATRICK, M. *Hammer and Sickle*. Foreword by Sir Austen Chamberlain. 243 pp. Mathews and Marrot, 1933. [Superficial and hostile study by an M.P. who had been

attached for a short time to the British Embassy in Moscow.]

QUISLING, V. *Russia and Ourselves*. 284 pp. HS, 1931. [Violently hostile sketch of Russian conditions, with much talk of the 'Nordic mission' to destroy Bolshevism and remake Russia.]

ROLLAND, R. *I will not rest*. Transl. from the French by K. S. Shelvankar. 320 pp. SB, 1935. [Includes various newspaper articles, &c., written between 1919 and 1934, defending the USSR or criticising various aspects of the regime.]

Russia in Resurrection. *A summary of the views and of the aims of a new party in Russia*. By an English Europasian. 266 pp. R, 1928. [Elaborate exposé of the views of a party which never came into existence in Russia.]

SAROLEA, C. *Impressions of Soviet Russia*. 276 pp. NG, 1924. [A general attack on the Soviet regime by a Russian-speaking scholar; based partly on a visit in 1924. (Remarkable for the confidence and incorrectness of its political prophecies.)]

S[OCIALIST] C[LARITY] G[ROUP]. *The USSR—its Significance for the West*. 72 pp. G, 1942. [A critical appraisal of the failures and achievements of the Soviet regime by a group of members of the British Labour Party.]

SCHEFFER, P. *Seven Years in Soviet Russia. With a Retrospect*. Transl. A. Livingston. 358 pp. P, 1931. [A collection of articles, classified according to subject matter, by a German journalist who was in Russia 1921–8. (The articles continue up to 1931.) Interesting material, useful for the history of the 'twenties.]

SEIBERT, T. *Red Russia*. Transl. from the German. 425 pp. AU, 1932. [An able but hostile survey of all aspects of Soviet life by a German journalist who worked in Russia from 1926 to 1929.]

SLOAN, P. *Russia without Illusions*. Preface by B. Webb. 268 pp. ML, 1938.

„ *Soviet Democracy*. 288 pp. G, 1938.

The first is an account of Soviet conditions, the second largely an account of Soviet political institutions, by an

English Communist who worked in Russia for several periods in the 'thirties.]

The Soviet comes of age. By 28 of the foremost citizens of the USSR. Foreword by S. and B. Webb. 337 pp. HO, 1938. [Collection of short articles (about 10 pp. each) by Soviet experts on the achievements of the USSR in various spheres of life. (Some notes, illustrations, and maps, but no bibl. or index.)]

The Soviet Union and World Problems. Ed. by S. N. Harper. (Harris Lectures, 1935.) 254 pp. Chicago, 1935. [Five lectures: A. A. TROYANOVSKY, 'The Basic principles of Soviet Foreign Policy'; I. V. BOYEFF, 'The Soviet state monopoly of foreign trade'; V. ROMM, 'Geographic tendencies in the Soviet Union'; H. KOHN, 'The Nationality policy of the Soviet Union'; M. W. GRAHAM, 'The Peace policy of the Soviet Union' (with valuable notes). Useful appendices and maps; the last article is particularly important.]

Soviet Union, 1936. Ed. A. Fineberg. 752 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1936. [Selection of speeches made by Soviet leaders (Stalin, Molotov, Mikoyan, &c.) in 1935 and 1936, designed to illustrate the achievements of the Soviet regime. Also includes the draft text of the Constitution.]

TERRELL, R. *Soviet Understanding.* 284 pp. H, 1937. [An unorthodox but interesting attempt to 'understand' and explain Soviet Russia against a historical and philosophical background.]

Twelve Studies in Soviet Russia. Ed. for the New Fabian Research Bureau by M. I. Cole. Introd. by C. R. Attlee and G. D. H. Cole. 282 pp. G, 1933. [A series of popular studies by English Left-Wing publicists, for the most part possessing no knowledge of Russian. Based on visits in 1932.]

URCH, R. O. G. *The Rabbit King of Russia.* 275 pp. ES, 1939. [Ostensibly the biography, from the Revolution to 1938, of the man who tried to introduce large-scale rabbit farming under the Five-Year Plan; largely devoted to 'guying' the grandiose schemes of the Bolsheviks. By the 'Riga Correspondent' of *The Times*.]

- USSR Handbook*. 643 pp. G, 1936. [An admirable factual survey of political organisation, industry, agriculture, trade, education, literature, &c., with a brief history of the Soviet Union and a diary of events since 1917.]
- USSR speaks for itself*. Vol. 3. *Democracy in Practice*. 104 pp. LW, 1941. [Brief articles by Soviet experts on aspects of public life, the national question, the position of women, &c.]
- WALTER, L. E. *Russia* ('Peeps at Many Lands' Series). 2nd edn. 89 pp. Black, 1928. [A children's book; the 2nd edn. has a supplementary chapter on post-revolutionary Russia.]
- WARD, H. F. *In Place of Profit. Social Incentives in the Soviet Union*. 460 pp. SC (US pr.), 1933. [A study of the Communist 'social ethic', particularly in relation to labour and culture. Based on study and on visits in 1931-2. Brief bibl. of books and pamphlets (mainly Moscow pr.). Valuable.]
- WEBB, S. and B. *Soviet Communism: a New Civilisation*. 2 vols. 1174 pp. LN, 1935. 2nd edn. 1257 + 33 pp. G, 1937. 3rd edn. 50 + 1257 pp. LN, 1941. [The most complete and detailed study in existence of every sphere of Soviet life. Based mainly on written sources in Western European languages, as the authors do not know Russian and their personal acquaintance with Soviet conditions is slight. Despite its strong pro-Soviet sympathies, the work is criticised by Communists for its empiricism, by non-Communists for its credulity as to Soviet official statements. Many refs., but no bibl. The 2nd and 3rd edns. include appendices dealing with subsequent changes, but no revision of the original text. The preface to the 3rd edn., together with the text of the 1936 Constitution and an essay on the Webbs by Bernard Shaw, has been reprinted (with slight modifications) under the title *The Truth about Soviet Russia* (79 pp. LN, 1942). (On the Webbs' visit to Russia in 1932, and how their book came to be written, see M. A. HAMILTON, *Sidney and Beatrice Webb. A study in contemporary biography*. 314 pp. SL, 1933.)]

WILLIAMS, A. R. *The Russian Land*. 294 pp. New Republic, NY, 1927. [Sketches of life since the Revolution, by an American Left-Wing sympathiser. Unusual and interesting, since the author visited places quite off the beaten track.]

„ *The Soviets*. 554 pp. Harcourt, NY, 1937. [‘All about Soviet Russia’ in the form of 88 questions of a general character, with detailed answers to them. By an American sympathiser who knows Russia well. Good bibl. of nearly 500 works in English.]

To this list there may be added a few works which are not specifically about Soviet Russia, but which do incidentally refer to it at some length.

FISCHER, L. *Men and Politics*. 639 pp. CA, 1941. [A personal record of the period 1921–41 by one of the most experienced of modern journalists, with particular knowledge of Russia. Chiefly important for its information and comments on the Great Trials, on Soviet foreign policy, and on intervention in Spain.]

KOROSTOVETZ, W. K. *The Re-Birth of Poland*. 317 pp. Bles, 1928. [A badly arranged book on Poland in the early ’twenties, containing some interesting information about Russian refugees and contacts with Russia at that time.]

„ V. DE. *Europe in the Melting Pot*. 320 pp. HN, 1938. [General survey of European politics, with special reference to Russia, by a Ukrainian nationalist.]

NIRTI, F. *Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy*. Transl. from the Italian by M. M. Green. 223 pp. AU, 1937. [Mainly an attack on Italian Fascism, but includes comments on Bolshevism in Russia, holding that it was the inevitable consequence of the defects of modern capitalism.]

VOIGT, F. A. *Unto Caesar*. 359 pp. C, 1938. [A study of modern politics, strongly anti-Bolshevik (and anti-Fascist) and sometimes illuminating in its comments. (Many detailed references to Marxist literature and events in Russia.)]

YEATS-BROWN, F. *European Jungle*. 409 pp. ES, 1939.

[Includes a violent attack on the Soviet regime, with details about victims of the Great Purge and Bolshevik activities abroad.]

b. PAMPHLETS

The pamphlet literature on Soviet Russia is very large, but for the period after 1922 it has nothing like the importance or interest that it possesses for the years of the Revolution and Civil War. For reasons of convenience the anti-Semitic literature, and the literature that has grown up around certain real or alleged forgeries, has been separated off into two subsections below; much also will be found in the Sections on Foreign Policy [III. 6], Conditions of Labour [IV. 6], Religion [V. 5. c], and elsewhere. The remainder will be found here.

AUBERT, MAÎTRE. *Bolshevism's Terrible Record. An Indictment*. 112 pp. 2nd edn. 120 pp. WN, 1925. [A violent and sustained attack, concentrating on atrocities, &c., by one of the advocates taking part in the defence of the murderers of Vorovsky in Switzerland in 1923; the pamphlet is the speech which secured his clients' acquittal. (The bibl. mentions some of the obscurer contemporary literature in French and German.)]

AUGUR' [= V. POLIAKOV]. *Soviet versus Civilization*. 95 pp. TB, 1927. [Attack on Soviet foreign policy and the activities of the Comintern, and an appeal for action against them.]

BAYLDON, H. C. *Under Czar and Soviet. Revelations and Reflections of an English engineer for many years resident in Russia*. 75 pp. Eclectic Press Service, 1937. (2nd edn. under the title *England and Russia in Contrast. Trials of the New World*. 95 pp. 1937.) [Schemes for the regeneration of England, with virtually nothing about Russia.]

BENNETT, M. *In Freedom's Cause. For British-Soviet Youth Friendship*. 15 pp. CP, 1942. [Pamphlet about Soviet achievements.]

BISHOP, R. *Everyman's Guide to Russia*. [?] pp. CP, 1940. [General sketch by an English Communist.]

- BISHOP,[†]R. *Soviet Russia: your questions answered.* 16 pp. RTS, 1941. [Information of various kinds.]
- BLATCHFORD, J. *England or Russia?* 95 pp. Stockwell, 1932. [Extracts from various books about pre-war Russia, collected to show that Bolshevism in England is impossible.]
- DIETRICH, P. R. *Towards the World October. The 14th Anniversary of the Russian (Bolshevik) October Revolution.* 24 pp. MB, 1931. [Socialist achievements contrasted with the difficulties of the capitalist world.]
- „ *The War of Intervention against the Soviet Union—and the Second International.* 45 pp. MB, 1931. [Comments on Intervention and attack on the Second International.]
- DOBB, M. *Russia Today and Tomorrow.* (Day to Day Pamphlets, 1.) 48 pp. HP, 1930. [Able and friendly survey.]
- Facts about Russia.* (For speakers and others interested in the Soviet Union.) 12 pp. FSU, 1932. [Scraps of miscellaneous information.]
- ‘Friends of Soviet Russia’ Congress and Delegation reports : *FSR International Congress, November, 1927. Report and Resolutions.* Foreword by W. Lawther. 103 pp. LRD (for FSR), 1927. [Moscow Congress.]
- Report of FSR Congress, London, April 1928.* [?] pp. FSR, 1928.
- Hands off Soviet Russia! Report of the Cologne Conference of FSR, May 1928.* Foreword by A. J. Cook. 29 pp. FSR, 1928.
- The USSR through Irish Eyes. Being the Report of the Irish FSR Delegation, August 1930.* 27 pp. FSR (Irish Section), Dublin, 1930.
- JOHNSON, H. *Friendship with Russia Now.* 12 pp. RTS, 1940. [Pamphlet advocating more friendly relations, June 1940.]
- JORDAN, M. *How the Soviet people lives and works.* 15 pp. CP, 1940. [Pamphlet by a person who had lived 8 years in Russia.]
- LEE, J. *Our Ally Russia—the Truth.* 64 pp. W. H. Allen, 1941. [Sketches by a journalist (Mrs Aneurin Bevan) who has frequently visited Russia.]

- LUBOFF, E. *A Red Year. A record of Soviet life, activities and intrigues at home and abroad during 1926.* 136 pp. Anglo-Russian Press, 1927. [General attack on the Soviet system, including many cartoons and extracts from the Soviet Press, largely on Anglo-Soviet relations.]
- LUFFMAN, M. *The USSR. An Outline for Study and Discussion.* 24 pp. Council for Education in World Citizenship (LNU), 1942. [Brief sketch of Soviet conditions, with short bibl.]
- MAXIMOV, G. *Bolshevism: Promises and Reality.* 23 pp. Anarchist Federation, Glasgow, 1937. [Attack on Bolshevism by an Anarchist, for its betrayal of the working classes.]
- MAISKY, I. *Social and Economic Planning in the Soviet Union.* Introd. by A. Henderson. 24 pp. ARPC, 1935. [Speech at LNU Conference, 17 Feb. 1935.]
- „ *Soviet Youth: its Training and Opportunities.* 16 pp. ARPC, 1938. [Address to students at Aberystwith, 18 Feb. 1938.]
- MONTAGU, I. *Soviet Leaders: Kalinin.* 16 pp. CP, 1942. [Brief popular biography.]
- POLLITT, H. *Salute to the Soviet Union.* 30 pp. CP, 1937. [Illustrated pamphlet on Soviet achievements.]
- ROBSON, E. W. and M. M. *Dear Joe. Letters from Bill Smith to Joseph Stalin.* 95 pp. SW, 1942. [Candid letters by Left-Wing sympathisers on the errors of the Soviet regime.]
- RUDE, G. *Socialism in Practice. Why Russia is Strong.* 24 pp. LW (for Marx House), 1941. [Lesson syllabus, with notes for further reading.]
- Russia. A series of articles repr. from 'The Times' of May 25, 26 and July 5, 6 and 7, 1937.* 14 pp. 'The Times', 1937. [A well-written account of life in Russia 'twenty years after'.]
- Russia and the West.* (Changing World Series, No. 1.) 23 pp. 'Changing World', 1942. [A series of sympathetic studies on the relation between Soviet Russia and Christian Society, mainly from the Roman Catholic point of view.]
- Russia in Pictures, with some official statistics.* Foreword by I. Maisky. 24 pp. WN, 1941. [Well-reproduced photographs of aspects of life in Russia.]

- Russia Today. Progressing or Retrograding? A Reply to Mr Douglas Hacking, M.P.* 4 pp. ARPC, 1928. [A few facts controverting a statement made in Parliament on 19 Nov. 1928.]
- The Russian Myth.* 30 pp. Freedom Press, 1941. [Anarchist pamphlet attacking the Soviet regime.]
- Russia's Story Told in Pictures.* 50 pp. CP, 1941. [Photographs of life in Russia.]
- RUST, W. *24 Years of Soviet Power.* 15 pp. CP, 1941. [General sketch by an English Communist.]
- 'SEARCHLIGHT'. *How about Russia? The Truth Revealed.* 15 pp. RTS, 1941. [Pamphlet advocating more friendly relations with Russia.]
- SHAW, G. B. *Look, you boob . . !* 14 pp. FSU, 1931. [A broadcast to the United States, 11 Oct. 1931.]
- [„]. *Shaw on Stalin.* 11 pp. RTS, 1941. [Letter to the *New Statesman* of 31 May, and correspondence to which it gave rise.]
- SLOAN, P. *Country with a Plan.* (Key Books, No. 13.) 63 pp. Fore Publications, 1941. [General sketch of Soviet organisation and conditions of life.]
- „ *Planning for Prosperity: the USSR looks ahead.* ('Russia has a Plan' Series, No. 1.) 15 pp. RTS, 1941. [Sketch of planning and its results.]
- „ *The Revolution for Socialism. 23 Years of Soviet Power!* 18 pp. RTS, 1940. [General appreciation of Soviet achievements.]
- „ *Russia in Peace and War.* Foreword by I. Maisky. 71 pp. PP, 1941. [Mainly admirably reproduced photographs illustrating all aspects of Soviet life.]
- The Soviet Government's 10th Anniversary. Nov. 7, 1917–Nov. 7, 1927.* 16 pp. ARPC, 1927. [Notes, for Labour speakers, on various topics.]
- Soviet Heroes.* ('Life and Literature in the Soviet Union', No. 1.) Ed. I. Montagu and H. Marshall. 137 pp. PP, 1942. [Sketches of outstanding Soviet achievements in the realms of exploration and aviation, mainly as told by the participants themselves.]

- Soviet Progress 1930-1934. Reports to the All-Union Soviet Congress, Jan.-Feb. 1935.* Intro. by N. Maclean. 70 pp. ARPC, 1935. [Summaries of and long extracts from speeches by Molotov, Rosengoltz, and others.]
- Soviet Progress. A record of economic and cultural development, 1917-1937.* 16 pp. ARPC, 1937. [Useful collections of statistics.]
- The Soviet Union and the Capitalist World.* (No. 4 of a Series of 4 lesson courses for Workers' Study Circles.) 40 pp. CP, 1931. [Generalities on capitalist hostility to the USSR.]
- Ten Years of Workers' Rule. A record of Industrial and Social Progress.* 16 pp. CP, 1927. [Manifesto of the Central Executive Committee of the Congress of Soviets on the tenth anniversary of the Revolution.]
- THOMSON, J. *Soviet Russia. A Syllabus for Study Courses.* 24 pp. RTS, 1942. [Four lectures and a brief list of books.]
- USSR. *The Strength of Our Ally.* 60 pp. LW, 1941. [Excellent collection of pictorial statistics, with explanatory text.]

C. ANTI-SEMITIC LITERATURE

The following section makes no pretence to be a complete guide to that somewhat unsavoury topic, attacks on Soviet Russia from the anti-Semitic point of view. Many of the works which concern themselves directly or indirectly with this subject are privately printed, either in England or in the United States (e.g. Mrs L. Fry, *Waters Flowing Eastward*; A. N. Field, *All These Things*), and are only obtainable with difficulty; moreover, having read one or two of them one has read them all, for they do little more than repeat the same allegations about the Jewish origin of almost every member of the ruling caste in Russia and their relations with Jewish capitalists abroad. (A notorious example is the list of Jewish Commissars published by the Unity of Russia Association (New York) in 1920, and reproduced in pamphlet after pamphlet in the list below, or some of the allegations in Henry Ford's book, *The International Jew*, published at Dearborn in 1920 and subse-

quently withdrawn.) It has not appeared profitable to the compiler to try and track down anonymous pamphlets with sinister titles, such as *The Gravediggers of Russia* or *White Labour versus Red*, or the writings of such Anti-Semites as Mr V. Marsden (e.g. *Jews in Russia*. 22 pp. 'The Britons', 1922), since the light that these throw on actual conditions in Soviet Russia is precisely nil. Those interested in the subject can get much of the information they require by consulting the organs of the British Union of Fascists (*The Patriot*, 1922 onwards; *Action*, 1936-40), or the references in the works listed below. For more serious information on the position of the Jews in the Soviet Union, see III. 2. d.

The following is a list of miscellaneous books and pamphlets :

BAIN, F. W. *Decapitated Russia*. 11 pp. Boswell, 1926.
[Pamphlet by a popular novelist.]

BRASOL, B. *The World at the Cross-Roads*. 409 pp. HN (US pr.), 1922. [Discussion of the German-Jewish plot against civilisation, and its ramifications, particularly in relation to Bolshevism, in 1918-21.]

The Cause of World Unrest. Introd. by the Editor of the *Morning Post* (H. A. Gwynne). 270 pp. GR, 1920. [General sketch of revolutionary movements from the 18th century onwards, with special reference to the Bolshevik Revolution.]

FAHEY, REV. D. *The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World*. Preface by the Most Rev. J. Kinane. 326 pp. Browne & Nolan, Dublin, 1935. 2nd edn. 364 pp. B. & N., 1938. [A study of the revolt against Catholic concepts of society, with abundant references to anti-Masonic and anti-Semitic literature; only deals incidentally with Russia.]

„ *The Rulers of Russia*. 16 pp. Irish Messenger Office, Dublin, (and Militant Christian Patriots, London), 1938. 2nd edn. 34 pp. Trader Publ. Co., Dublin, 1938. 3rd edn. 100 pp. Browne & Nolan, Dublin, 1940. [A violently anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik pamphlet, 'proving' that Bolshevism is nothing but a Jewish conspiracy.]

- [MATTHEWS, E.] *What is Fascism? What is Communism? What is Democracy?* 16 pp. Privately pr. (Epsom), 1937. [Violent anti-Semitic Fascist pamphlet, attacking Communism and Democracy.]
- The Nameless Beast.* 14 pp. Covenant Publ. Co., 1933. [General attack on Bolshevism and its spread in the Church of England! (Based on Rouse's pamphlet, cited below.)]
- PITT-RIVERS, G. *The World Significance of the Russian Revolution.* Preface by Dr Oscar Levy. 45 pp. Blackwell, Oxford, 1920. [General attack on Socialism, with special reference to the Jews.]
- PONCINS, VICOMTE L. DE. *The Secret Powers behind Revolution: Freemasonry and Judaism.* Transl. from the French. 260 pp. Boswell (Fr. pr.), 1929. [Includes a long chapter on Bolshevism and the Jews.]
- ROUSE, C. H. *The Nameless Beast.* 20 pp. Boswell, 1928. [Bolshevik atrocities and the ramifications of Bolshevism and secret societies.]
- 1791-1917. *The French Terror and Russian Bolshevism.* 8 pp. Boswell, n.d. [Extracts from Mrs Webster's book, *The French Revolution* (519 pp. C, 1919), showing that both were 'conspiracies against civilisation'.]
- WEBSTER, MRS N. H. *The Origin and Progress of the World Revolution.* 16 pp. Boswell, 1932. [An address delivered in 1920, summarising the conclusions of the next item.]
- „ *World Revolution: the Plot against Civilization.* 327 pp. C, 1921. [Deals with Bolshevism (amongst other things) as part of a secret plot against Christian civilisation. (See also her *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements.* 419 pp. Boswell, 1924.)]

The 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' have played so large a part in anti-Bolshevik propaganda that it is necessary to include a brief note on the literature that has grown up around them.

There are two English editions of the Protocols.

The Jewish Peril. Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. 95 pp. ES, 1920. [Subsequent reprints by 'The

Britons'.] [They are here described as the notes of a series of lectures, stolen from the headquarters of Jewish Freemasonry in France. (This edition also includes the introduction and epilogue of Nilus.)]

The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion. Transl. from the Russian by V. E. Marsden. 75 pp. The Britons, 1921. [Many reprints.] [The most remarkable feature of this edition is the introduction by the editor, a former correspondent of the *Morning Post* in Russia.]

The following books and pamphlets deal with the fabrication :

WOLF, L. *The Jewish Bogey and the Forged Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.* 48 pp. Jewish Board of Deputies, 1920. [Contains some useful information on the use to which the Protocols were being put at the time in Russia and elsewhere ; on the forgery itself his conclusions are inexact and incomplete.]

BERNSTEIN, H. *The History of a Lie : the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion.* 84 pp. Ogilvie, NY, 1921. [Translates Goedsche's story of the meeting of Jewish representatives in a Prague cemetery, from which he believes that the fabrication originated.]

GRAVES, P. *The Truth about 'The Protocols' ; a literary forgery.* 24 pp. 'The Times', 1921. [Reprint of the articles in *The Times* (16-18 August 1921) in which the original source (a pamphlet by Maurice Joly against Napoleon III) used by the author of the Protocols was first identified.]

BERNSTEIN, H. *The Truth about 'The Protocols of Zion'. A Complete Exposure.* 480 pp. Covici, NY, 1935. [Traces briefly the greater part of their history, and reproduces *in extenso* all important documents (the Protocols themselves, Joly's pamphlet, &c.) connected with them.]

GWYER, J. *Portraits of Mean Men. A Short History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* 136 pp. Cobden-Sanderson, 1938. [A witty presentation of the greater part of the story, but defective as to the origins of the Protocols owing to his book having been written before the publication of Burtsev's work.]

BURTSEV, V. ‘“The Elders of Sion”: a proved forgery.’ *Slavonic Review*, xvii, 1938-9, pp. 91-104. [A summary of the conclusions of his larger work, which is only available in Russian; essential on the origins of the forgery. (His book is reviewed by L. E. Wharton in the same number of the *Slavonic Review*, pp. 474-9.)]

There are interesting sections dealing with the Protocols and their influence in Counts H. and R. COUDENHOVE-KALERGI, *Anti-Semitism throughout the Ages* (Transl. A. S. Rappoport. 288 pp. HN, 1935), and H. VALENTIN, *Anti-Semitism* (Transl. from the Swedish by A. G. Chater. 324 pp. G, 1936). They are also used and discussed in many of the general works cited above; there is a characteristic ‘refutation’ of the arguments of Dr Wolf and Mr Graves by Mrs N. H. Webster in an appendix to her *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*.

d. FORGERIES AND MISREPRESENTATIONS

One of the most famous of the early collections of documents about the Bolsheviks are the so-called ‘Sisson Letters’ (reproduced in E. G. SISSON, *One Hundred Red Days*), which are now almost universally regarded as forgeries. On some of the fabrications of the first few years one can consult E. CLARK, *Facts and Fabrications about Soviet Russia* (93 pp. Rand School of Social Science, NY, 1920), and W. LIPPMAN and C. MERZ, *A Test of the News* (Supplement to *The New Republic* [NY], 4 Aug. 1920); the latter is a systematic examination of the news reporting on Soviet Russia in the *New York Times* from March 1917 to March 1920. See also E. A. ROSS, *The Russian Soviet Republic*, and G. M. ROEBUCK, *The Nationalisation of Women. The Natural History of a Lie* (23 pp. BSP, 1920); the latter traces in detail the history and dissemination of one of the most famous of anti-Bolshevik fictions.

Nailed to the Counter. A record of misrepresentation concerning Soviet Russia. Preface by H. N. Brailsford. 81 pp. LPC (for the RTD), 1923. [Extracts from the British Press in 1923, with counter-statements from the Information Dept. of the Russian Trade Delegation.]

Accusations against M. Rakovsky. Preface by E. D. Morel. 12 pp. HOR, 1923. [Exposure of some mis-statements in the Morning Post.]

History of the Zinoviev Letter. Facts about the Infamous Letter. Commentary by A. McManus. 48 pp. CP, 1925. [Contains all the documents and information available at the time, with a commentary by the supposed recipient of the letter.]

Report of the British Delegation to Russia on the Red International and the Red Letter. 12 pp. T.U.C. General Council, 1925. [Report of the B.T.U. Delegation to Russia on the forgery, including correspondence with Comintern officials, &c.]

COATES, W. P. *The 'Zinoviev Letter'. The Case for a full investigation.* Preface by J. Maxton. 27 pp. ARPC, 1928. [Summary of information available and demand for an investigation. (See also J. D. GREGORY, *On the Edge of Diplomacy*, but the information here is disappointingly meagre.)]

„ *Tory Lies about Russia. A handbook of facts and figures.* 21 pp. ARPC, 1926. [Mainly concerned with the aftermath of the General Strike and Anglo-Soviet relations.]

Anti-Soviet Forgeries. A record of some of the forged documents used at various times against the Soviet Government. Foreword by G. Lansbury. 141 pp. Workers' Publ. Ltd., 1927. [Necessarily incomplete but useful collection of material (photographs, documents, &c.), including valuable details about professional forgers and their agents in Germany and elsewhere.]

COATES, W. P. *Anti-Soviet Lies Nailed.* Preface by E. Wilkinson. 26 pp. ARPC, 1930. [Selection of mis-statements in the press or by public speakers in the years 1928-30, and their contradiction or refutation by the author.]

„ *More Anti-Soviet Lies Nailed.* Preface by G. Lansbury. 28 pp. ARPC, 1933. [Refutation of statements made by the 'Riga Correspondent' of *The Times* between Jan. and Aug. 1933.]

c. VISITORS' IMPRESSIONS

The books grouped in this section do not represent an exhaustive list of those by visitors to Soviet Russia between 1922 and 1942. It is in the main confined to those by visitors who went for only a short time and out of motives of general curiosity; a number of more thorough studies will be found in subsection *a* above, books dealing with particular topics studied by their authors in Russia will be found in the appropriate sections, and reports by delegations and by their members will be found in the next subsection below. Accounts of visits made before 1923 are listed in II. 2. *f, g*.

The books are classified according to the date of the visit. This has occasionally had to be inferred from the contents or the date of publication, and some visits in consequence may be dated a year later or earlier than they actually took place.

1923 (?)

Burned Bridges (254 pp. GG, 1925), by 'Nichevo', the memoirs of a Russian who had lived most of his life in the West, includes a short and quite uninformative account of a visit of a few days to Odessa in disguise in the early 'twenties.

1924

SHERIDAN, C. *Across Europe with Satanella*. 216 pp. D, 1925. [Entertaining account of a trip by motor-cycle to the Ukraine and Crimea with her brother. (Good photos.)]

1925

BÉRAUD, H. *The Truth about Moscow, as seen by a French visitor*. Transl. by J. Peile. 261 pp. F, 1926. [Critical and rather superficial impressions of a visit by a French correspondent.]

HANBURY, MRS C. *What I saw in Soviet Russia*. 16 pp. Anti-Socialist and Anti-Communist Union, 1925. [A lecture delivered on 10 Dec. 1925 describing her impressions. (Anti-Bolshevik propaganda.)]

KEYNES, J. M. *A Short View of Russia*. (Hogarth Essays, 18.) 28 pp. HP, 1925. [Critical observations, mainly

on Communism as a form of religion, based partly on a short visit in 1925.]

SCOTT, A. McCALLUM. *Beyond the Baltic*. 316 pp. TB, 1925. [Mainly a good popular account of the Baltic States, but includes a trip Leningrad—Moscow—Riga.]

TWEEDIE, MRS A. [E. B.]. *An Adventurous Journey: Russia—Siberia—China*. 397 pp. HN, 1926. Revised edn. 286 pp. TB, 1929. [Uncomplimentary account of conditions in Moscow and on the Trans-Siberian Railway when *en route* for the Far East.]

1926

KNIGHT, G. E. O. *To Bolshevik Russia in Disguise*. 19 pp. Anglo-American Publ., 1929. [Trivial notes of a visit in autumn 1926.]

MCWILLIAMS, R. F. and M. S. *Russia in Nineteen-Twenty-Six*. 128 pp. DT, 1927. [Observations and comments by two Canadians on a fortnight's visit (Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev) in Aug. 1926.]

SLOCOMBE, G. *The Tumult and the Shouting. The Memoirs of George Slocombe*. 437 pp. H, 1936. [The memoirs of a distinguished newspaper correspondent, including a chapter on a visit to Russia in 1926; also notes on the Genoa Conference, contacts with Chicherin, Rakovsky, Litvinov, &c.]

TOLLER, E. *Which World—Which Way? Travel Pictures from America and Russia*. Transl. from the German by H. Ould. 178 pp. SL, 1931. [Scrappy notes, jottings and letters about a visit in 1926.]

1927

BROWN, W. J. *Three Months in Russia*. 189 pp. LPC, 1928. [Critical but not unfriendly comments, including statistics about living conditions, interviews with Soviet officials, &c.]

DREISER, T. *Dreiser looks at Russia*. 264 pp. CA (US pr.), 1929. [General and in the main friendly observations by an American novelist, who spent 3 months in Russia at the invitation of the Soviet Government in the winter of 1927-8.]

GREENWALL, H. J. *Mirrors of Moscow*. 266 pp. HA, 1929. [Interesting and informative descriptions of scenes in Russia as observed on visits in 1927 and 1928. (Includes in an appendix Trotsky's own story of his exile, as given to the *Daily Express*.)]

1928

- BARBUSSE, H. *One looks at Russia*. Transl. from the French by W. B. Wells. 207 pp. DT, 1931. [Various aspects of Soviet life as seen by a French Communist in 1928.]
- DEWEY, J. *Impressions of Soviet Russia and the Revolutionary World—Mexico, China, Turkey*. 270 pp. New Republic, NY, 1929. [Includes reprint of 6 articles from the *New Republic* (Nov.—Dec. 1928), based on a visit earlier in the year. Important for educational matters.]
- DOS PASSOS, J. *In All Countries*. 278 pp. C, 1934. [Includes some sketches of Leningrad and Moscow in 1928. (Later repr. in his *Journeys between Wars*. 394 pp. C [US pr.], 1938.)]
- FREUCHEN, P. *It's All Adventure*. 488 pp. H, 1938. [Autobiography of a Danish explorer, including his observations on conditions in Karelia, Leningrad, &c., when participating in the 'Congress for the International Exploration of the Arctic by Airship' at Leningrad in 1928.]
- LONDON, G. *Red Russia after Ten Years*. Transl. from the French by G. E. R. Gedyé. 182 pp. M, 1928. [Frivolous and superficial comments by a French reporter who visited Russia in 1928.]
- MCCORMICK, A. O'HARE. *Communist Russia. The Hammer and the Scythe*. 803 pp. WN (US pr.), 1929. [Romantic account of her impressions on a visit in the summer of 1928.]
- THOMPSON, DOROTHY. *The New Russia*. 330 pp. CA, 1929. [Friendly and well-informed comments by a capable American journalist who visited the country in 1928.]
- WINTERTON, P. *A Student in Russia*. 80 pp. Co-op. Union, Manchester, 1931. [Account of a stay of 9 months in Russia in 1928-9 by a student of economics; too brief to be of any great value.]

- 1929

- ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, E. *The Riddle of Russia*. 276 pp. CS, 1927. [Hostile comments by an English journalist who visited Leningrad and Moscow in 1929.]
- 'CLAUDIA.' *Back to our Country. Russia: land of the romantic past and the pregnant future*. 256 pp. Stockwell, 1938. [Record of a visit by a Russian-born Australian and her family in 1929. Only of personal interest.]
- FOSS, K. *Black Bread and Samovars. An account of an unconventional journey through Soviet Russia*. Introd. by H. W. Nevinson. 247 pp. AS, 1930. [Rather trivial record of a trip through European Russia and Western Siberia by two young Americans.]
- GILLIARD, A. *Another Innocent Abroad*. 177 pp. Salvationist Publ., 1930. [Includes a few letters of no value describing the Trans-Siberian section of a journey to the Far East in autumn 1929.]
- MULDAVIN, A. *The Red Fog Lifts*. 311 pp. AP, NY, 1931. [Fair-minded account of an extensive business visit in 1929 by a Russian-speaking American.]
- Russia as seen by two Tilmanstone Miners. A record of a tour to the Donetz Basin in August-September 1929*. Ed. by W. Haydon. 32 pp. Dover, 1929. [Very unfavourable impressions.]

1930

- BEVAN, A.; STRACHEY, E. J.; STRAUSS, G. *What we saw in Russia*. ('Day to Day' Pamphlets, 4.) 30 pp. HP, 1931. [Notes on living conditions, &c., by three Labour M.P.s who visited Russia in Sept. 1930.]
- DOBB, M. *In Soviet Russia, Autumn 1930*. 30 pp. MB, 1930. [Pamphlet describing general conditions of life.]
- LONG, R. *An Editor looks at Russia. One unprejudiced view of the land of the Soviets*. 114 pp. C, 1932. [Personal impressions and comments on a brief visit in the autumn of 1930.]
- O'FLAHERTY, L. *I went to Russia*. 299 pp. CA, 1931. [Highly entertaining account of his own reactions on a visit in April-May 1930.]

- POLUNIN, N. *Russian Waters*. Foreword by J. Buchan. 306 pp. AR, 1931. [Diary and impressions of an Oxford undergraduate of Russian extraction who visited Soroka as a deck hand on a timber boat in 1930. Very interesting, both for the author's general views and his comments on the timber trade.]
- ROWAN-HAMILTON, N. *Under the Red Star*. 320 pp. HJ, 1930. [Readable account of her impressions on a trip through European Russia (including Novgorod) in 1930.]
- TOYNBEE, A. J. *A Journey to China, or Things which are Seen*. 345 pp. C, 1931. [Includes a very unfavourable account of his return journey via the Trans-Siberian and Moscow.]
- TWEEDIE, O. *Russia at Random*. 192 pp. J, 1931. [Detailed account of things seen and done on a three-day excursion to Leningrad and Moscow in 1930.]

1931

- CHESTERTON, MRS C. *My Russian Venture*. 283 pp. HA, 1931. [Interesting account of an unorthodox visit to White Russia and the Ukraine.]
- FORMAN, A. *From Baltic to Black Sea. Impressions of Soviet Russia Today*. 340 pp. SL, 1931. [Account of a tour of European Russia in 1931.]
- FRANK, W. *Dawn in Russia. The Record of a Journey*. 272 pp. SC (US pr.), 1932. [Impressions of the regime and its relations with the outside world by an American journalist.]
- GRIFFITH, H. *Seeing Soviet Russia. An informative account of the cheapest trip in Europe*. 199 pp. LA, 1932. [Account of a 8 weeks' trip with 'Intourist' to Leningrad, Moscow and Nizhni-Novgorod.]
- HUXLEY, J. *A Scientist among the Soviets*. 119 pp. CW, 1932. [Interesting and friendly account of a brief visit.]
- LLOYD, C. M. *Notes on Russia*. ('Day to Day' Pamphlets, 7.) 40 pp. HP, 1932. [Articles on government, culture, conditions of life, &c.; repr. from the *New Statesman* and based on a short visit on its behalf.]

- MAITLAND-MAKGILL-CRITCHTON, C. F. A. *Russian Close-Up*. 167 pp. CW, 1932. [Personal impressions of a brief visit to Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev.]
- MARSHALL, A. *Moscow Calling!* 48 pp. Reynolds (Ripley), 1931. [Sketch of a visit early in 1931 by an enthusiastic Socialist, with Press extracts and correspondence on Soviet achievements.]

1932

- BROWN, E. T. *This Russian Business*. 256 pp. AU, 1933. [Impressions of a visit to Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev. Some interesting observations and conclusions.]
- BYRON, R. *First Russia, then Tibet*. 328 pp. MM, 1932. [Impressions of a brief visit in Jan.-Feb. 1932 to Moscow, Leningrad, Novgorod, Yaroslavl and Kiev. Important for his accounts of churches, icons, and art and architecture generally.]
- DURANT, W. *The Lesson of Russia. Impressions*. 164 pp. P, 1933. [General sketch of Russian conditions, based on very unfavourable impressions received on a visit in 1932.]
- GRIERSON, J. *Through Russia by Air*. Foreword by Sir M. Campbell. 174 pp. Foulis, 1934. [Account of a rather adventurous solo flight which took him as far as Tashkent.]
- HOYLAND, J. S. *The New Russia. A Quaker Visitor's impressions*. 94 pp. Allenson, 1933. [Friendly impressions of Soviet life and conditions.]
- JARMAN, T. C. *Through Soviet Russia. The Diary of an English tourist*. 119 pp. Houghton Publ. House, 1933. [Diary of a trip with 'Intourist' through European Russia in June-July 1932.]
- LOW, D., and MARTIN, K. *Low's Russian Sketchbook*. 141 pp. G, 1932. [Informative and sympathetic study; cartoons and text are equally admirable.]
- LYALL, A. *Russian Roundabout. A non-political pilgrimage*. 207 pp. Desmond Harmsworth, 1933. [Clever account of an 'Intourist' visit in 1932, using the personalities of other members of the party to show how various could be different people's reactions to the same events.]

- PURVES-STEWART, SIR J. *A Physician's Tour in Soviet Russia*. 176 pp. AU, 1933. [Notes made on a tour in the summer of 1933. Critical and rather unfriendly.]
- WELLS, C. *Kapoot. The Narrative of a Journey from Leningrad to Mount Ararat in search of Noah's Ark*. 285 pp. J, 1934. [Superficial and extremely hostile impressions by a popular American travel lecturer.]
- What I saw in Russia*. By an Ordinary Tourist. 19 pp. Privately pr., 1932. [Rather trivial notes on a tour in European Russia.]

1933

- HERRIOT, E. *Eastward from Paris*. Transl. from the French by P. Megroz. 318 pp. G, 1934. [Account of a trip through the Balkans and Turkey to Russia; contains much interesting information on what he saw, and many references to further literature, but has been sharply criticised for what he failed to see.]
- MUGGERIDGE, M. *Winter in Moscow*. 252 pp. ES, 1934. [Journalistic sketches of life in Russia in 1932-3, largely devoted to 'debunking' the regime.]
- P. T. [= P. L. TRAVERS]. *Moscow Excursion*. 114 pp. Gerald Howe, 1934. [Rather frivolous notes on a visit to Leningrad, Moscow and Nizhni-Novgorod.]
- SKARIATINA, I. (MRS V. F. BLAKESLEE). *First to Go Back. An aristocrat in Soviet Russia*. 318 pp. G, 1934. [Very favourable impressions of a visit in 1933, by a member of the nobility who had left Russia in 1922. (See her earlier book, *A World can End*.)]

1934

- ABBE, J. E. *I photograph Russia*. 320 pp. HA, 1935. [Account (with numerous photographs) of his visit to Russia by an extremely critical American newspaper photographer.]
- BROWN, J. *I saw for myself*. 276 pp. SB, 1936. [An account of his visits to Germany and Russia by an English Socialist who went as a result of a challenge by Lord Nuffield; largely devoted to uncomplimentary personal

- observations, but useful on working conditions. (A few pages are devoted to a subsequent illegal visit in 1936 in his book, *The Road to Power* [327 pp. SB, 1937].)]
- CHESTERTON, MRS C. *Sickle or Swastika?* 268 pp. SP, 1938. [Travels in Europe; nearly a third of the book is devoted to a writers' congress in Moscow in 1934 (contacts with Gorki, &c.) and various excursions in the neighbourhood.]
- MAYBURY, H. *The Land of 'Nichevo'.* 161 pp. Liverpool, 1935. [Detailed and unfavourable description of a visit to Leningrad and Moscow.]
- BELLMAN, SIR H. *Baltic Backgrounds. Pages from a diary kept on a visit to the Baltic, with excursions within Russia and calls at the Northern Capitals.* 116 pp. Privately pr., 1934. [Includes a visit of 4 days to the sights of Leningrad and Moscow in the summer of 1934.]
- MUNDAY, M. C. *Far East.* 287 pp. SP, 1935. [Includes his impressions of the Trans-Siberian journey.]
- WATERS, BRIG.-GEN. W. H.-H. *Russia Then and Now.* 308 pp. MU, 1935. [A comparison, very favourable to the Soviets, of conditions in 1934 with those that obtained before the Revolution, when the author had been in Russia.]

1935

- CITRINE, SIR W. *I search for truth in Russia.* 368 pp. R, 1936. 2nd edn. 420 pp. R, 1938. [Diary of a tour in Russia (14 Sept.-28 Oct.). Contains much valuable information, chiefly relating to the standard of living and comparisons with English conditions, but is excessively critical in approach. (In the 2nd edn. the epilogue has been rewritten up to Dec. 1936, with comments on the Great Trials, &c.) (There is a sharp criticism of the book by P. SLOAN, *I search for truth in Citrine: a reply to Sir Walter.* 68 pp. LW, 1936.)]
- COATES, W. P. and Z. K. *Scenes from Soviet Life.* 295 pp. LW, 1936. [Journal of a trip through European Russia by two writers very favourably disposed to the Soviet regime.]

- HARRIS, A. *Eastern Visas*. 392 pp. CO, 1939. [Includes accounts of the rail journey across Siberia in 1935 and from the Afghan frontier to Moscow in 1936.]
- MILES, F. J. *Changing Russia*. 144 pp. Marshall (and Russ. Miss. Soc.), 1936. [Comments on life and conditions in Russia, from the Evangelical point of view ; based partly on a visit in autumn 1935.]
- PARES, B. *Moscow admits a Critic*. 94 pp. NN, 1936. [Very interesting, and on the whole favourable, impressions received on a visit in the winter of 1935-6 by a scholar who had intimate knowledge of pre-revolutionary Russia.]

1936

- BIGLAND, E. *Laughing Odyssey*. 307 pp. HS, 1937. [An enthusiastic account of a trip through European Russia in the summer of 1936. (Her book *The Key to the Russian Door* [254 pp. P, 1942] is also an enthusiastic and highly subjective appraisal of the spirit of the new Russia, based on this and later visits.)]
- BOORMAN, H. R. P. *So This is Russia*. 80 pp. Maidstone, 1936. [Repr. of a series of articles (*Kent Messenger*, June-July 1936) describing his impressions on a trip in May.]
- COHEN, L. *Two Worlds*. 448 pp. G, 1936. [Record of a trip round the world, nearly a third of the book dealing with European Russia.]
- CONOLLY, V. *Soviet Tempo. A Journal of Travel in Russia*. 189 pp. SW, 1938. [Very depressing impressions by an Irish Catholic who visited Russia in the winter of 1936-7 and who had an expert knowledge of Soviet foreign trade. (She prints in an appendix a translation of the *Pravda* articles [3. xi. 1936] attacking GIDE's *Retour*.)]
- DELAFIELD, E. M. *Straw without Bricks. I visit Soviet Russia*. 262 pp. MM, 1937. [Personal and rather uncomplimentary impressions of a stay of several months, including life on a kolhoz near Rostov.]
- GIDE, A. *Back from the USSR*. Transl. from the French by D. Bussy. 121 pp. SW, 1937. [Friendly criticisms and reflections, together with speeches made on his visit in 1936.]

- GIDE, A. *Afterthoughts. A Sequel to "Back from the USSR"*. 142 pp. SW, 1938. [An answer to critics of his earlier book.]
- LUCK, S. I. *Observation in Russia*. 339 pp. MM, 1938. [Journal of a visit (22 April-22 July) with a British expedition to Omsk to observe the total eclipse of the sun, by a volunteer observer who spoke Russian fluently. Very interesting and fair in his observations and comments.]
- MARCHANT, H. S. *Scratch a Russian*. 212 pp. Drummond, 1937. [Amusing account of a trip from Archangel to the Rumanian frontier.]
- STUCLEY, P. *Russian Spring*. 286 pp. SB, 1937. [Good account of a visit to European Russia, including the Crimea and the Caucasus, with excellent photographs by the author.]

1937

- FEUCHTWANGER, L. *Moscow, 1937*. Transl. from the German. 174 pp. G, 1937. [Impressions on a visit of 10 weeks in spring, 1937, including an eye-witness account of the Radek trial.]
- HOOPER, MAJOR A. S. *Through Soviet Russia, 1937*. 126 pp. Privately printed, 1937. (Later edns., with fresh prefaces and postscripts, in 1938, 1939, 1941.) [Diary of a visit of 11 weeks in April-June 1937.]
- NEWMAN, B. *Ride to Russia*. 332 pp. HJ, 1938. [Description of a cycle ride across Europe to Russia, with visits to Odessa and Kiev. Some interesting comparisons of living conditions with those in neighbouring countries.]
- POPE-HENNESEY, DAME UNA. *The Closed City. Impressions of a visit to Leningrad*. 254 pp. HN, 1938. [Account of a visit in summer, 1937, mainly to see the historical relics, palaces, &c. (Also describes the end of the 'Paget Mission'.)]
- WINTERTON, P. *Russia—with open eyes*. 48 pp. LW (for FSU), 1937. [Reprint of articles in the *News Chronicle* (July-August 1937); sketches of life and ideas, by one who had twice visited Soviet Russia before and lived there for nearly a year in 1928-9.]

1939

- COWLES, V. *Looking for Trouble*. 469 pp. HH, 1941. [Includes her very unfavourable impressions of a visit in the spring of 1939. (Also 'covers' the Russo-Finnish war.)]

1940

1941

- CALDWELL, E. *Moscow under Fire. A Wartime Diary: 1941*. 112 pp. HN, 1942. [Diary of life in Moscow from 2 June to 1 Oct. 1941 by an American correspondent.]
- CITRINE, SIR W. *In Russia Now*. 154 pp. RH, 1942. [Account of his visit in Oct. 1941 to arrange co-operation between the British and Russian Trades Unions.]
- HALDANE, C. *Russian Newsreel. An eye-witness account of the Soviet Union at War*. 207 pp. SW, 1942. [Journalistic sketch of her visit to Russia as a correspondent in the summer and autumn of 1941. Includes a visit to the Front, but is mainly about life in Moscow and behind the lines.]
- WERTH, A. *Moscow '41*. 268 pp. HH, 1942. [Impressions of a British (Russian-born) correspondent in Russia from July to November 1941. Interesting, but omits much that one would like to know.]

f. TRADES UNION AND OTHER DELEGATIONS

Only two of the numerous labour delegations which at one time or another have visited Soviet Russia produced reports of any serious value, the British Trades Union Delegation of 1924 and the American Trades Union Delegation of 1927.

Russia. The official report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia in November and December, 1924. 250 pp. T.U.C. General Council, 1925. [Separate reports on General Conditions, Labour Conditions, and Transcaucasia. Valuable, though based on inadequate evidence and suffering from the disadvantages inherent in any officially conducted tour.]

The most comprehensive criticism of this report is a monumental work in French (M. FEDOROV, *La Russie sous le régime communiste. Réponse au rapport de la Délégation des Trades Unions britanniques, basée sur la documentation officielle soviétique.* 574 pp. Paris, 1926), but one Austrian and three English attacks on its conclusions may be mentioned.

ADLER, F. *The Anglo-Russian Report. A Criticism of the Report of the B.T.U. Delegation from the point of view of International Socialism.* [Transl. from the German by H. J. Stenning.] 52 pp. K, 1925. [General criticism of the report, together with an article on the activities of 'Red' T.U. International.]

Russia and the British Labour Delegation's Report. A Reply. 31 pp. British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia, 1925. [A sharp criticism, with many citations from the Soviet press about conditions in Russia. (Mainly the work of Emma Goldman.)]

Soviet Eyewash: Socialist Whitewash. An examination of the official Report of the B.T.U. Delegation to Russia in November and December, 1924. 124 pp. (Printed by) The Anchor Press, Tiptree, Essex, 1925. [Savage anonymous analysis of and attack on the report, with copious citations from the Soviet press.]

One Red Union. 56 pp. Bemrose, 1926. [Attack on the behaviour of the delegates, with citations from their speeches as reported in the Soviet press.]

See also II. 4. g for criticism of the part of the Report dealing with Transcaucasia. One of the delegates, MR BEN TILLET, produced a lyrical appreciation of the results of the Revolution entitled *Some Russian Impressions* (Foreword by G. Hicks. 24 pp. LRD, 1925).

The American delegation visited Russia three years later.

Soviet Russia in the Second Decade. A joint survey by the technical staff of the first American T.U. Delegation. Ed. by S. Chase, R. Dunn, and R. G. Tugwell. 374 pp. WN (US pr.), 1928. [Valuable series of reports by experts who spent some 2 months in Russia in 1927.]

Russia after Ten Years. Report of the American T.U. Delegation. [J. H. Maurer, J. Brophy, F. L. Palmer, A. F. Coyle] to the Soviet Union. 96 pp. International Publ., NY, 1927. [The joint report of the delegation : of minor importance.]

The following are brief reports of various delegations, for the most part of little or no value or importance :

Report of a Group of Co-operators on a visit to Russia, August 1929. 50 pp. Co-op. Printing Soc., Manchester, 1930.

Report on visits to Russia by Members of Two Groups of Co-operators, July-August 1930. 71 pp. Co-op. Printing Soc., Manchester, 1931.

Russia, 1931. Reports of Two Groups of Co-operators. 47 pp. Co-op. Union, Manchester, 1932.

Soviet Russia, 1932. Reports of Two Groups of Co-operators on a visit to the USSR in the summer of 1932. 60 pp. Co-op. Union, Manchester, 1933.

Soviet Russia. An Investigation by British Women Trade Unionists, April-July 1925. 88 pp. W. P. Coates, 1925.

Soviet Russia Today. The Report of the British Workers' Delegation to Russia in November 1927. 96 pp. LRD, 1927.

Report of the Second British Youth Delegation to the USSR. 20 pp. Young Communist League, 1927.

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Report of the Irish Labour Delegation, appointed on the invitation of the All-Russian Trades Union Council. 56 pp. Trades Union and Labour Council, Dublin, 1929.

CROMBIE, G. *A Railwayman in Russia. The Report of the Edinburgh Member of the British Workers' First of May Delegation to the Soviet Union, 1931.* 10 pp. Edinburgh FSU, 1931.

The Lucky 13. Report of the 13 Worker Delegates to the Soviet Union, November-December 1931. 16 pp. FSU, 1932.

Eight Working Men in Russia. 15 pp. FSU, 1932.

What we saw in Russia. Report of the British Workers' Delegation, May 1933. 11 pp. FSU, 1933.

- CLAYDEN, H. *A Distributive Worker visits the Soviet Union*. 14 pp. [publisher?], 1933. [By a delegate who visited Russia in July 1933.]
- The Soviet Union in 1935. Being the Report of the British Workers' May Day Delegation*. 11 pp. FSU, 1935.
- A Visit to Russia. A Report of Durham Miners on their Visit to the USSR*. 56 pp. Durham Miners' Association, 1937. [Valuable.]
- Britain Looks at Russia. Report of the B.T.U. Delegation to the Soviet Union, Nov. 1938*. [?] pp. FSU, 1938.

2. THE CONSTITUTION

a. DOCUMENTS

Many editions are available of the Constitution of the RSFSR of 10 July 1918.

- Constitution of the RSFSR*. 17 pp. PRIB, 1919.
- The First Socialist Republic. Being the full text of the Russian Constitution and of the Decree which establishes control of industry by the workers*. Compiled by G. Lansbury. [?] pp. The Herald, 1919.
- Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic*. [?] pp. Dreadnought Publ., 1922.
- The Soviet Constitution*. Ed. A. Rothstein. 142 pp. LPC (for the Information Dept. of the RTD), 1923. [The best edn., including amendments up to 1921, the Declaration and Treaty of Union of 30 Dec. 1922, and a clear account of the working of the Constitution and its component parts.]

It is also available in *Select Constitutions of the World* (prepared for presentation to Dail Eireann by order of the Irish Provisional Government. 612 pp. SO, Dublin, 1922), and in such standard collections as H. L. MCBAIN and L. ROGERS, *The New Constitutions of Europe* (612 pp. Doubleday, NY, 1928). The Act of Union of 6 July 1923 (Constitution of the USSR) is available in *Soviet Russia, A description of the*

various political units (1924) and in the WEBBS' *Soviet Communism*, as well as in other works mentioned below.

The editions of the draft and final texts of the Constitution of 5 Dec. 1936 are also numerous, as are the commentaries on it.

The New Soviet Constitution. 31 pp. ARPC, 1936. [The draft of 12 June, 1936, with a brief introduction.]

Constitution (Basic Law) of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (Draft). Annotated by P. Sloan. Introd. by S. Webb. Forewords by Norman Angell, Rev. A. D. Belden, G. Hicks, H. J. Laski, Gilbert Murray, Sir Bernard Pares, D. N. Pritt. 79 pp. LW (for the Committee of the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the USSR), 1936. [Text of the draft, with long commentaries, some of which are of value.]

The World's First Socialist Constitution. Notes on the Draft of the New Soviet Constitution of 1936—comparing it with the Constitutions of 1918 and 1924. 14 pp. CP, 1936. [Brief (propagandist) notes.]

STALIN'S 'Report on the Draft Constitution' (25 Nov. 1936) is printed in his *Leninism* (1940), and in two other English versions :

The Draft New Constitution : Speeches by J. V. Stalin and M. M. Litvinov. 53 pp. ARPC, 1936.

The New Democracy. Stalin's Speech on the New Constitution. 31 pp. LW, 1937.

STRONG, A. L. *The New Soviet Constitution. A Study in Socialist democracy.* 169 pp. Holt, NY, 1937. [The best edn. of the final text, giving the variants of seven other semi-official translations, with valuable explanatory notes calling attention to differences between the draft and final texts and other points, and including an account of the proceedings of the Special Congress which met in Nov.-Dec. 1936 to discuss and adopt the Constitution.]

The Soviet Socialist Constitution. 28 pp. RTS, 1937. [Text only.]

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. 28 pp. Anglo-Russian News Bulletin, 1940.

[Text, with note of admission of Baltic States and other changes in 1940.]

Mrs Strong's version, with her notes, is printed in the second and third editions of the WEBBS' *Soviet Communism*. The full text, in various translations, is included in many other books, not always for any very intelligible reason; e.g. the CPS version is printed as an appendix in P. FRANCIS, *I worked in a Soviet Factory*.

b. CONSTITUTIONAL STUDIES

These are arranged roughly in chronological order.

- KAUTSKY, K. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. Transl. H. J. Stenning. (I.L.P. Library.) 149 pp. ILP, Manchester, 1919. [A criticism of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, written at the end of 1918. (Answered by Lenin in *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade*.)]
- POSTGATE, R. W. *The Bolshevik Theory*. 240 pp. GR, 1920. [Good general study, with a useful appendix of documents connected with the Third International.]
- BRAILSFORD, H. N. *How the Soviets Work*. 169 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1927. [Admirable short description of the actual mechanism of government.]
- GRAHAM, M. W. *New Governments of Eastern Europe*. 826 pp. P (US pr.), 1928. [Includes a good account of the Constitution of the USSR and the way in which it came into existence; reproduces many useful documents.]
- BALDWIN, R. N. *Liberty under the Soviets*. 272 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928. [A valuable study, unfortunately without references, of the degree to which political and personal liberty is circumscribed in Russia. Very friendly to the regime.]
- BATSELL, W. R. *Soviet Rule in Russia*. 857 pp. MM, NY, 1929. [Detailed account of the entire mechanism of government, with abundant documentation. (Particularly important for documents dealing with local government.) Rather badly arranged. Good bibl., mainly of Russian works.]

- HARPER, S. N. *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*. 401 pp. Chicago Univ. Press, 1929. [Thorough and objective study of public institutions, the organisation of the Communist Party, education, &c. (The book runs up to 1928-9; the author, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions at Chicago, visited Russia for 3 months in 1926.) Excellent bibl., largely of Russian works.]
- „ *Making Bolsheviks*. 167 pp. Chicago Univ. Press, 1931. [Essentially an appendix to his *Civic Training*; 6 lectures (based on a visit to Russia in 1930) on the Party Worker, the Shock Brigader, the Collective Farmer, &c.]
- New Governments in Europe. The Trend toward Dictatorship*. By V. M. DEAN and others. Introd. by R. L. Buell. 440 pp. NN (US pr.) 1934. Revised edn. 520 pp. NN (US pr.), 1937. [Includes an excellent brief study (partly rewritten in the 2nd edn.) of the Govt. of the USSR by V. M. Dean. (No bibl., but copious notes and references.)]
- MAXWELL, B. W. *The Soviet State. A Study of Bolshevik Rule*. 384 pp. SB, 1935. [Scholarly and impartial study of the Constitution and its working. Select bibl., mainly of Russian works. (See also his interesting chapter, 'Political Propaganda in Soviet Russia', in *Propaganda and Dictatorship*. Ed. H. L. Childs. 153 pp. Princeton, 1936.)]
- HARPER, S. N. *The Government of the Soviet Union*. ('Governments of Modern Europe' Series.) 204 pp. Van Nostrand, NY, 1937. [The best non-technical general survey. Brief bibl.]
- FLORINSKY, M. T. *Towards an Understanding of the USSR. A Study in government, politics and economic planning*. 245 pp. MM, NY, 1939. [A good general study, very critical. Useful bibl., mainly of Russian works.]
- HAWGOOD, J. A. *Modern Constitutions since 1787*. 539 pp. MM, 1939. [Includes an interesting section, with a brief critical bibl., on the USSR.]
- SLOAN, P. *How the Soviet State is run*. 128 pp. LW, 1941. [Elementary popular sketch of the principles and working of Soviet institutions.]

Many of the books in III.1. *a* contain good sections on the Constitution; the fullest and best is that in the WEBBS' *Soviet Communism*, but that in N. DE BASILY'S *Russia under Soviet Rule* is very good, and amongst the earlier works one may mention particularly L. H. GUEST, *The New Russia* (1926).

On the general question of the Soviet government as a dictatorship there is a considerable literature. COUNT C. SFORZA'S *European Dictatorships* (255 pp. AU, 1932) contains two rather sketchy chapters on 'The Russian Dictatorship' and 'The Sovietic Imperialism'. Some general observations will be found in DR H. KANTOROWICZ, *Dictatorship: a Sociological Study* (39 pp. Heffer, Cambridge, 1935 [= *Politica*, vol. I, no. 4, pp. 470-508]), the bibliography to which (compiled by R. Elkin) contains a useful list of some 150 works dealing with the USSR. *The Way of the Dictators*, by L. BROAD and L. RUSSELL (Introd. by D. Lloyd George. 328 pp. HN, 1935), deals with the careers of Lenin and Stalin, but is of no independent value. An interesting study of Bolshevism as an experiment in sociology and government will be found in M. PARMELEE, *Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal-Democratic State* (430 pp. CH, 1935). Various general aspects are considered in such books as D. SPEARMAN, *Modern Dictatorship* (272 pp. CH, 1939) and A. COBBAN, *Dictatorship. Its History and Theory* (352 pp. C, 1939). There is almost nothing about Russia in J. D. CHAMBERS, *Dictators. An introductory study in the social origins of dictatorship* (218 pp. NN, 1941). The WEBBS, in their *Soviet Communism*, warmly defend the regime against the charge of being a dictatorship.

C. THE OPPOSITION

In view of the importance of Trotsky as head of the opposition to Stalin, pride of place must be given to his own works, which will be found listed in III. 10. All his later writings are in large measure anti-Stalinist propaganda, but *The Real Situation in Russia* (1928), *The Permanent Revolution* (1931), *The Third International after Lenin* (1936) and *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937) are of particular importance. To Trotsky's own writings must be added those of his friend and translator Max Eastman and two books of 'Victor Serge' (= V. L. Kibalchich), who was

expelled from the Party at the same time as Trotsky, and after being subsequently imprisoned left Russia in 1936. There are also various miscellaneous works, which will be found mentioned below. There is no connected history of the 'Left' Opposition—a useful sketch is M. SHACHTMAN, *Ten Years: History and Principles of the Left Opposition* (80 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1935)—and still less is there one of the 'Right'; those contained in the various official histories of the Communist Party are tendentious and highly untrustworthy. Much useful information about the struggle for power in the 'twenties will be found in BORIS SOUVARINE'S *Stalin*.

EASTMAN, M. *Since Lenin Died*. 158 pp. LPC, 1925. [The earliest detailed account of the disputes after Lenin's death, including the first mention of Lenin's 'Testament'. Some useful documents in an appendix.]

„ *Marx, Lenin and the Science of Revolution*. 267 pp. AU, 1926. [General discussion of Marxist theory, and a criticism of the actual position arrived at in Russia. (Useful references, but a quite inadequate index.)]

„ *The End of Socialism in Russia*. 46 pp. SW, 1937. [Pamphlet lamenting Stalin's betrayal of the ideas of the 'twenties.]

„ *Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism*. 272 pp. AU, 1940. [A recantation of his earlier endorsement of Lenin's methods, and a general attack on their results under Stalin.]

'SERGE, VICTOR.' *Destiny of a Revolution*. Transl. from the French by M. Shachtman. 287 pp. J, 1937. [A violent attack on Stalin and the bureaucracy, giving a most depressing picture of life in Russia.]

„ *From Lenin to Stalin*. Transl. from the French by R. Manheim. 230 pp. SW, 1937. [An account of the crushing of the opposition; largely devoted to the first of the Great Trials and the beginnings of the Great Purge.]

CILIGA, A. *The Russian Enigma*. Transl. from the French by F. G. Renier and A. Cliff. 304 pp. R, 1940. [The record of a Croat Communist who went to Russia in 1926

to work for the Comintern, adopted a Left-Wing position in alliance to the Trotskyists, and spent from 1930 to 1936 in various prisons and penal settlements. Of outstanding importance for the various groups of the Opposition and for the treatment of political prisoners.]

CAMPBELL, J. R. *Soviet Policy and its Critics*. 381 pp. G, 1938. [A tendencious but useful account of the Trotsky-Stalin controversy from the Revolution to 1938, by an English Communist.]

The following are mainly concerned with other opposition groups :

SAVINKOV, B. V. *Memoirs of a Terrorist*. Transl. J. Shoplen, with a foreword and epilogue. 364 pp. Boni, NY, 1931. [The Memoirs cover only the pre-Revolutionary phase of his career, but the editor's epilogue tells briefly his later history. (See also the sketch of him in Winston Churchill's *Great Contemporaries*.)]

KOLLONTAY, A. *The Workers' Opposition in Russia. Describing the conflict between the Communist Workers and the Russian Soviet Government*. 63 pp. Dreadnought Publ., 1922(?). [Pamphlet written in 1920 stating the case of the 'Workers' Opposition' against the policy of Lenin.]

GOLDMAN, E. *The Crushing of the Russian Revolution*. 43 pp. Freedom Press, 1922. [Attack on the Bolshevik regime from the Anarchist standpoint.]

„ *Trotsky protests too much*. 15 pp. Anarchist Communist Federation, 1938. [Attack on Trotsky's part in crushing the Kronstadt rising in 1921.]

CILIGA, A. *The Kronstadt Revolt*. 16 pp. Freedom Press, 1942. [Attack on the policy of the Soviets as reflected in their treatment of the mutiny.]

MAXIMOFF, G. P. *The Guillotine at Work. 20 Years of Terror in Russia (Data and Documents)*. 627 pp. Chicago Section of The Alexander Berkman Fund, 1940. [Detailed and documented account of the relations of the Anarchists with the Soviet regime, 1917-39.]

KRYLENKO, N. *Red and White Terror*. 40 pp. CP, 1928. [A defence of the measures taken against the Mensheviks]

since the Revolution, with details of Menshevik activities. (Written mainly to defend the shooting of Prince Dolgorukov and others in June 1927.)]

The Letter of an Old Bolshevik. A Key to the Moscow Trials. 79 pp. AU, 1938. [An anonymous letter (by Alexei Rykov?) written after the Zinoviev Trial in Aug. 1936, smuggled out of Russia, and published in a Menshevik journal in Paris in 1937. Of great importance; it contains much 'inside information' about the struggle between Stalin and the Bolshevik 'Old Guard'. The English edn. has a brief introduction and notes.]

See also I. STEINBERG's *Spiridonova: Revolutionary Terrorist*, and B. SILVER, *The Russian Workers' own Story* (1938); the latter is important because of the S.R. connections of its author.

d. THE NATIONAL MINORITIES

The following are works of a general character:

RYSAKOFF, A. *The National Policy of the Soviet Union.* 72 pp. L, 1933. [Brief account of policy by a Soviet authority; largely concerned with the economic and cultural development of the Asiatic territories.]

KOHN, H. *Nationalism in the Soviet Union.* Transl. from the German by E. W. Dickes. 164 pp. R, 1933. [Careful study of Soviet policy and its application, based on personal investigations undertaken in the USSR in 1931. The documents and statements on which policy is based are collected in an appendix. (See also his study, 'The Nationality Policy of the Soviet Union', in *The Soviet Union and World Problems* [1935]. His collection of essays entitled *Revolution and Dictatorships* [437 pp. Harvard Univ. Press, 1939] includes studies on 'The Russian Revolution' and 'The Nationality Policy of the Soviets'.]

One may mention also the pamphlet of L. PERCHIK, *How the Soviet Government solves the National Question* (32 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1932), and the work of Yarmolinsky referred to below. There is not a great deal about Soviet conditions in the standard work of C. A. MACARTNEY, *National States and National*

Minorities (553 pp. OUP, 1934.) An important collection of official pronouncements and statements of policy by Stalin will be found in his *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (1936); a selection of extracts on the same topic is available in his work entitled *On the National Question* (1942).

The Ukrainians are the largest minority in the USSR, and there is an enormous emigré literature in English on its claims to independence. Most of this is published in Canada or the United States, and it can be omitted here. The following works may be mentioned:

ALLEN, W. E. D. *The Ukraine. A History.* 404 pp. CUP, 1940. [A thorough and detailed study, rather badly arranged; no bibl., but excellent chapter references, mainly to Ukrainian and Russian works. Anti-Bolshevik and anti-German in approach.]

BRÉGY, P., and OBOLENSKY, PRINCE S. *The Ukraine—a Russian Land.* Transl. by G. Knupffer. 260 pp. SB, 1940. [A fairly good study from the 'White' standpoint (anti-Bolshevik and opposed to schemes of Ukrainian independence); completed just before the outbreak of war.]

VOWLES, H. P. *Ukraine and its People.* 224 pp. Chambers, 1939. [Elementary but quite good sketch of its history and problems; pro-Soviet in outlook.]

The point of view of the extreme Ukrainian nationalists, violently hostile to Bolshevik Russia, is well expressed in two articles by I. MAZEPA, 'Ukraine under Bolshevik Rule', and A. SHULGIN, 'Ukraine and its Political Aspirations', in the *Slavonic Review*, xii, 1933-4, pp. 323-46; xiii, 1934-5, pp. 350-62; their authors were respectively President and Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian Republic in 1919. V. DE KOROSTOVETS's *Europe in the Melting Pot* contains a good deal about the Ukraine, practically from the same point of view; it is important for the evidence it gives of the relationship of the Ukrainian nationalists with German aspirations in the East. The now defunct periodical *East Europe and Contemporary Russia* was largely occupied with the Ukraine, and its editor was the author of two pamphlets on the subject.

LAWTON, L. *The Ukrainian Question and its importance to Great Britain*. 36 pp. Serjeants Press (for the Anglo-Ukrainian Association), 1935. [An address given before members of the House of Commons on 29 May 1935, advocating an independent Ukraine, with a note on the relevant treaties.]

„ *Ukraine: Europe's Greatest Problem*. 33 pp. East Europe and Contemporary Russia, 1939. [An address, sketching the past history of the Ukraine and advocating its independence, given before the Near and Middle East Association. (Repr. from *East Europe and Contemporary Russia*, vol. iii.)]

A good deal about the Ukraine will be found in H. H. TILTMAN, *Peasant Europe* (282 pp. J, 1934), and in E. WISKE MANN, *Undeclared War* (332 pp. C, 1939), but in both cases mainly in relation to Poland.

The Ukrainian National Information Service in London began the publication in Jan. 1939 of a four-page monthly news-sheet (information, reviews, &c.) entitled the *Ukrainian Bulletin*, written from the nationalist point of view.

On the position of the Jews in the Soviet Union a good deal has been published in the United States, but—apart from news items and articles in the Jewish press and periodicals—very little in this country. A certain amount of valuable information will be found in the monumental study of A. RUPPIN *The Jews in the Modern World* (Introd. by L. B. Namier. 421 pp. MM, 1934), and the same author's book, *The Jewish Past and the Future* (Transl. E. W. Dickes. 386 pp. MM, 1940) gives a clear account of the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the Jews and the Jewish community. By far the best work, with very full references to the literature in Russian, is A. YARMOLINSKY, *The Jews and other National Minorities under the Soviets* (193 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928). Two other American books of interest are J. N. ROSENBERG, *On the Steppes a Russian Diary* (Foreword by L. Marshall. 215 pp. Knopf, NY, 1927), the diary of a visit to Russia (30 April–27 May 1926) by the Chairman of the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, describing the success of measures taken to settle

Jews on the land in the Ukraine, and D. GOLDBERG, *Sussman sees it through: a reappraisal of the Jewish position under the Soviets* (244 pp. Bloch, NY, 1935).

On the way in which Judaism has been affected by Soviet anti-religious legislation, one may also consult the *Memorandum on the Correspondence with the Soviet Government respecting the Persecution of Judaism in Russia* (15 pp. Joint Foreign Committee of the London Jewish Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association, 1923), by LUCIEN WOLF. Many of the books in III. 1. e by Jewish visitors to Russia (e.g. L. COHEN, *Two Worlds*) contain interesting comments on the position of Jewish communities.

On the scheme for a Jewish autonomous region at Biro-Bidjan in Eastern Siberia and the degree of success which has been attained, there is a considerable literature in Jewish and other periodicals; the best summary of opinions on the matter will be found in a chapter in J. LEFTWICH, *What will happen to the Jews?* (268 pp. K, 1936). Lord Marley has described his visit in Oct. 1933 (*Biro-Bidjan*. 22 pp. FSU, 1934), and LILI KÖRBER's *Adventures in the East* (Transl. from the German by K. S. Shelvankar. 347 pp. LA, 1937) includes a good account of a visit in 1935.

For the literature on the Ukrainian pogroms of 1917-20, see II. 4. f.

e. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The position of the Communist Party in the Soviet System of government is very fully dealt with by the studies listed in III. 2. b, above. Many brochures and pamphlets have been published at Moscow in English on the subject, and in particular on the organisation and working of the Party; very full references to these will be found in the WEBBS' *Soviet Communism*, and it is not necessary to detail them here. But the following historical studies may be noted.

ROSENBERG, A. *History of Bolshevism. From Marx to the First Five-Year Plan*. Transl. from the German by I. D. F. Morrow. 250 pp. OUP, 1934. [A scholarly study by a former German Communist, dealing in detail

with the disputes of the 'twenties and the Trotskyist schism. Covers both the Russian Communist Party and the Comintern. Written from a Marxist standpoint. No bibl., but useful references to source material.]

POPOV, N. *Outline History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*. 2 vols. 414, 460 pp. L, 1935. [Popular semi-official history, written with a strong party bias; the first vol. runs from the last century to the October Revolution, the second from the Revolution to 1930. (No index or bibl., but it contains a series of useful though highly prejudiced biographies of prominent party members.)]

[Short] *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Short Course*. Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU. 364 pp. FLPH, Moscow, 1939. [Brief, popular, official history, superseding Popov's book and running to 1938. Written under the influence of the Great Purge, and in many respects quite unreliable. No index or bibl.]

An earlier semi-official history by E. YAROSLAVSKY is available in French (*Histoire du parti communiste de l'URSS*. [?] pp. Paris, 1931). D. BLAIR's *History and Formation of Bolshevism* (31 pp. York, 1926) is only an anti-Bolshevik pamphlet—a brief and inaccurate sketch of the formation and growth of the Bolshevik Party up to the October Revolution. L. BERIA's study, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia* (Transl. from the 4th Russian edn. 206 pp. LW [USSR pr.], 1939), a speech delivered at a meeting of Party functionaries on 21–2 July 1935, is largely devoted to Stalin's career; it goes up to 1924. For some popular accounts of personalities and episodes in earlier Bolshevik history, see V. 1. f.

The five Party Congresses held before the February Revolution need not be considered here, and of the thirteen held between 1917 and 1939 adequate reports of only the first and three of the last four are available in English.

The following list excludes practically all the minor reports, theses, &c., which were published in English in Moscow but not in England.

6th Congress (Petrograd), July–Aug. 1917.

Preparing for October. The Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, August 1917. 71 pp. MB, 1933. [Abbreviated record of speeches and proceedings, with Piatnitsky's notes.]

15th Congress (Moscow), Dec. 1927.

Report of the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Official Report with Decisions and Discussions. 415 pp. CP, 1928. [Abridged report, including only the principal reports and speeches, and even these not in full.]

16th Congress (Moscow), June–July 1930.

No full report in English, but one may mention :

STALIN, J. *Political Report to the 16th Congress of the Russian Communist Party.* 223 pp. MB, 1930. [Includes the Resolutions on the report.]

MOLOTOV, V. M. *The Developing Crisis of World Capitalism.* 53 pp. MB, 1930. [Report and concluding speech on behalf of the CPSU Delegation in the ECCI.]

17th Congress (Moscow), Jan.–Feb. 1934.

Socialism Victorious. Stalin — Molotov — Kaganovich — Voroshilov — Kuibyshev — Orjonikidze — Manuilsky. 719 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1934. [A collection of all the important reports and speeches, together with the resolutions and decisions.]

The various sections of this work were published separately in Moscow, and two of them in England as well :

STALIN, J. [*Stalin reports on the Soviet Union.*] *Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the CPSU.* 74 pp. L, 1934.

Forward to the Second Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction — the Resolutions of the 17th Party Conference. 40 pp. MB, 1934.

18th Congress (Moscow), March 1939.

The Land of Socialism, Today and Tomorrow. 488 pp. FLPH, Moscow, 1940. [Includes all the important reports and resolutions. (These are also available in a special number of the *Communist International*, xvii, pp. 518–719.)]

The various sections are published separately in Moscow, and two editions of Stalin's report were published in England :

[*Stalin's Historic Speech*]. *Report of the Work of the Central Committee*. 62 pp. MB, 1939.

The USSR and Foreign Affairs. Speech by J. V. Stalin. 51 pp. ARPC, 1939.

3. THE LEGAL SYSTEM

The fullest translations of the various legal codes are available in French, though important parts can be consulted in English.

Les Codes de la Russie soviétique. Trad. de J. Patouillet et R. Dufour. 4 vols. 260, 257, 222, 370 pp. (Bibl. de l'Institut. de droit comparé de Lyon. Études et documents. Tomes ix, xiv, xxiv, xxxiv.) Paris, 1925-35. [Vol. i contains the Marriage (1918) and Civil Codes (1922), Vol. ii the Labour and Agrarian Codes (1922) and the Forestry, Mining, and Veterinary Codes (1923), Vol. iii various modifications and additions to the Civil Code and the new Marriage Code (1926), and Vol. iv the Penal Code (1926, with amendments to Oct. 1933). Good introductions by E. Lambert and J. Patouillet.]

The Law of Soviet Russia concerning Marriage and Parentage. [?] pp. PRIB, 1919. [The Marriage Code of 1918.]

[*The Laws of the Russian Republic dealing with Marriage, Divorce, Guardianship, etc.*] *The First Code of Laws of the RSFSR*. Ed. by the People's Commissariat of Justice, Petrograd. Foreword by P. Lavrin. 48 pp. SIRB, Glasgow, 1920. [The Marriage Code of 1918. (A reproduction of the Petrograd edn. of 1919, with the preface by A. G. Hoichberg.)]

The Soviet Law of Marriage. 44 pp. MB (USSR pr.), 1931. [The code of 1926 (replacing that of 1918).]

The Code of Laws on Marriage, Family and Guardianship of the RSFSR. Transl. by Hsinwoo Chao. 51 pp. SM,

1936. [The Code of 1926 (replacing that of 1918), with notes regarding subsequent changes.]

The Russian Code of Labour Laws. By the People's Commissariat of Justice. Introd. by E. S. Pankhurst. 32 pp. PRIB, 1920. [The Code of 1918, repealed 1922.]

Labour Code. International Labour Office. Legislative Series, 1922. Russia, I. Geneva, 1922. [The Labour Code of 1922 (replacing that of 1918).]

The Labour Correction Code of the RSFSR (Prisons Code). Transl. by Hsinwoo Chao. 45 pp. SM, 1936. [The Code of 1933 (replacing that of 1924), with subsequent changes.]

The complete text of the Labour Code (1922) and Labour Correction Code (1924), with subsequent amendments, will also be found in *A Selection of Documents relative to the Labour Legislation in force in the USSR* (q.v.).

The Criminal Code of the RSFSR (1922). Transl. by H. O. Rayner. 58 pp. SO, 1925. [The Code of 1922, with amendments up to 31 Dec. 1924.]

The Penal Code of the RSFSR. Text of 1926 (with amendments up to 1 Dec. 1932), with three appendices. (Foreign Office, July 1934.) 82 pp. SO, 1934.

All important current legislation is reproduced verbatim in the *Slavonic Review*, and may be conveniently consulted there; labour legislation is also printed in the various publications of the International Labour Office. For the Constitution and questions of Constitutional Law, see III. 2; for questions of International Law, see III. 6. a. The early legislation of 1917-18 is most conveniently collected in L. LABRY, *Une législation communiste* (q.v.).

CALLCOTT, M. S. *Russian Justice.* 265 pp. MM (NY), 1935. [The best general survey of the aims and methods of penal legislation (excluding political offences) in the USSR. Based on investigations in the Soviet Union.]

- ZELITCH, J. *Soviet Administration of Criminal Law*. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Law School Series, Vol. V). 418 pp. Philadelphia, 1931. [Detailed and authoritative study by an American barrister, based on the written sources and on observations made during a 3 months' stay in Russia in 1928.]
- LASKI, H. J. *Law and Justice in Soviet Russia*. (Day to Day Pamphlets, No. 23.) 44 pp. HP, 1935. [A brief sketch of the system.]
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- KOERBER, L. VON. *Soviet Russia fights crime*. Transl. from the German. 240 pp. R, 1934. [Very favourable account of reformative treatment in prisons by a German investigator, who visited many prisons in all parts of the USSR in 1932.]
- MAKARENKO, A. *Road to Life*. Transl. from the Russian by S. Garry. 287 pp. Nott, 1936. [Account, by its founder, of the creation of the 'Gorki' colony for young criminals.]
- ZENZINOV, V. *Deserted. The Story of the Children abandoned in Soviet Russia*. Transl. A. Pratt. 216 pp. HU, 1931. [General study of the problem (to 1928) by an emigré; based on Soviet sources, but scarcely does justice to Soviet attempts to cope with the problem. (Bibl. of books and articles, mainly in Russian.)]

4. THE SECRET POLICE, CONCENTRATION CAMPS, AND THE GREAT TRIALS

Many of the books listed in this section are of a sensational character, and their allegations must be treated with great reserve. Those actually by ex-prisoners of the Secret Police are naturally biased; some of them are deliberately mendacious, and even in the others it is often difficult to separate the personal experiences of the authors from gossip and hearsay evidence which they repeat.

a. GENERAL STUDIES

- VASSILYEV, A. T. *The Ochrana: the Russian Secret Police*. 320 pp. HA, 1930. [An account of the working of the

Ochrana, and in particular much of its history during the war and revolutionary period, by the last Tsarist Chief of Police. Comments also on the Tcheka during the early Bolshevik period.]

KAUTSKY, K. *Terrorism and Communism. A Contribution to the Natural History of Revolution.* Transl. from the German. 234 pp. National Labour Press, 1920. [General study of the use of terrorism during revolutions, dealing briefly with the methods, terroristic and otherwise, of the Bolsheviks.]

TROTSKY, L. *The Defence of Terrorism (Terrorism and Communism). A Reply to Karl Kautsky.* Preface by H. N. Brailsford. 176 pp. AU, 1921. 2nd. edn., with new preface by Trotsky. 176 pp. AU, 1935. [Brilliantly written defence of revolutionary methods, of Bolshevik policy as a whole and of the use of force. Deals with the Tcheka only incidentally.]

MELGOUNOV, S. P. *The Red Terror in Russia.* Transl. from the German. 271 pp. DT, 1925. [Ghastly illustrated record of atrocities during the period 1917-22 by a Russian Liberal historian who left Russia, after various conflicts with the Bolsheviks, in 1922. Does not deal with his own experiences, and his sources are not always impeccable. Valuable bibl.]

CHERNOV, M. V. *Tcheka. Matériaux et documents sur la terreur bolcheviste.* 305 pp. Paris, 1922. [Material collected by the former leader of the Social Revolutionaries and President of the Constituent Assembly.]

JAXA-RONIKIER, B. *The Red Executioner Djierzhinski (The Good Heart).* Transl. from the Polish. 316 pp. DA, 1935. [A biography of Dzierzhinski. Sensationalist in the extreme; much of it is quite incredible, though the author alleges that he had contacts with Dzierzhinski in 1918—he was sentenced to death by the Tcheka, and finally escaped from Russia with Dzierzhinski's connivance—and heard the early part from Dzierzhinski himself.]

AGABEKOV, G. *Ogpu. The Russian Secret Terror.* Transl. from the French by H. W. Bunn. 277 pp. BR, NY, 1981. [The memoirs of a well-known Cheka and GPU

representative, who worked for it from 1920 to 1930, with a description of its organisation. As the author broke with the Soviets early in 1930 its veracity is somewhat open to question. (Contains interesting information about Communist activity and espionage in Central Asia.)]

ESSAD BEY. *Secrets of the Ogpu. The Plot against the World.* Transl. from the German. 301 pp. J, 1933. [Journalistic attempt to write the history and expose the methods of the Tcheka and GPU. Unreliable, but contains some useful references.]

TILTMAN, H. H. *The Terror in Europe.* 413 pp. J, 1931. [Nearly half the volume is devoted to a journalistic account of the activities of the Tcheka and GPU, religious persecution, the political and industrial trials of the 'twenties, &c.]

KRIVITSKY, W. G. *I was Stalin's Agent.* 297 pp. HH, 1939. [The memoirs of a Secret Service agent who broke with the Soviet regime in 1937; professes to give the 'inside story' of intervention in Spain, the execution of the Generals, relations with Germany, &c. Strongly anti-Stalinist.]

KALEDIN, V. K. *The Moscow-Berlin Secret Services.* 263 pp. HB, 1940. [Half the volume deals with the GPU, its organisation, and its proceedings, particularly in the years 1936-40, and with especial reference to espionage. Its information is based on 'contacts', and it is difficult to know how much of it is reliable.]

b. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

ORLOFF, V. G. *The Secret Dossier. My Memoirs of Russia's Political Underworld.* 274 pp. HA, 1932. [The author, a Tsarist official, worked for a time with the Provisional and Bolshevik Governments under an assumed name in 1917-18, and was later head of the White Intelligence Service in the Ukraine. His sketches and anecdotes are mostly based on hearsay evidence of the most dubious character.]

ALININ, K. *Tche-ka. The Story of the Bolshevik Extraordinary Commission. Personal Reminiscences of the Odessa 'Tchrezvychaika'.* 64 pp. RLC, 1920. [The author was for a month in the hands of the Odessa Tcheka, which sentenced him to death.]

- DOUBASSOF, I. *Ten Months in a Bolshevik Prison*. 308 pp. Blackwood, 1926. [The authoress was in prison March 1920–Jan. 1921 on a nominal charge of illicit trading; after a conditional release she escaped to Finland.]
- POPOFF, G. *The Tcheka: the Red Inquisition*. Transl. from the German. 308 pp. Philpot, 1925. [Highly sensational record of a foreign newspaper correspondent who was arrested in November 1922, released a week later, and escaped into Poland in Dec.]
- MALSAGOFF, S. A. *An Island Hell. A Soviet Prison in the Far North*. Transl. by F. H. Lyon. 223 pp. Philpot, 1926. [Account of conditions on Solovetski by a former White Russian officer who escaped in 1925.]
- Letters from Russian Prisons. Consisting of reprints of documents by political prisoners in Soviet prisons, prison-camps and exile, and reprints of affidavits concerning political persecution in Soviet Russia, official statements by Soviet authorities, excerpts from Soviet laws pertaining to civil liberties, and other documents*. 317 pp. Published for the Intern. Comm. for Political Prisoners. DL (US pr.), 1925. [Collection of material up to the middle of 1925, with introductory letters from distinguished men of letters in many lands.]
- CEDERHOLM, B. *In the Clutches of the Tcheka*. 349 pp. AU, 1929. [By a former Imperial naval officer who went to Russia in 1923 on a trading commission, was arrested in April 1924, spent 18 months in various prisons (including Solovetski), was released at the instance of the Finnish Govt., and left Russia in Dec. 1926.]
- BEZSONOV, Y. *My Twenty-Six Prisons and My Escape from Solovetsky*. 288 pp. CA, 1929. [Account of his experiences (partly diary extracts) by an ex-Tsarist officer who was in prison off and on from 1918 till his escape to Finland in 1925.]
- KINDERMANN, K. *In the Toils of the Ogpu*. 288 pp. HB, 1933. [By a German who went to Russia in 1924, was arrested on a charge of espionage and sentenced to death, and finally was released in exchange for some prisoners in Germany in 1926.]

BRUNOVSKY, V. *The Methods of the OGPU*. 285 pp. Harper, 1931. [By an agricultural expert of Latvian origin who was arrested in May 1923 on a charge of espionage, imprisoned in various places and sentenced to death, and finally released and deported in Dec. 1926.]

DOUILLET, J. *Moscow Unmasked: a Record of Nine Years' Work and Observation in Soviet Russia*. Transl. from the French. 223 pp. PP, 1930. [A lurid attack on the whole Soviet system, including his own prison experiences, by a Belgian who had lived in Russia before the Revolution, subsequently worked on various relief missions in Southern Russia, and spent 7 months in GPU prisons in 1925-6.]

Red Gaols. A Woman's experiences in Russian prisons. Transl. from the French by O. B. Prefaces by the Most Rev. A. Goodier and Fr. C. Dumont. 67 pp. BO, 1935. [By a Roman Catholic who was imprisoned at Solovetski and elsewhere from 1923 to 1931.]

SOLONEVICH, I. *Russia in Chains. A Record of Unspeakable Suffering*. 312 pp. WN, 1938.

„ *Escape from Russian Chains*. 350 pp. WN, 1938.

By a Russian who, having failed to leave with the Whites in 1918, tried again with his son in 1932 and 1933; after the second attempt he was arrested, spent a year in several concentration camps, and escaped to Finland in 1934. Very adverse picture of life in Russia.

CHERNAVIN, V. V. *I speak for the Silent: Prisoners of the Soviet*. 368 pp. HH, 1935.

CHERNAVIN, T. *Escape from the Soviets*. 320 pp. HH, 1933.

The first book is by a former Director of Production and Research Work of the Northern Fisheries Trust, the second by his wife. He was arrested in 1930 on a charge of 'wrecking' and imprisoned on Solovetski; his book describes his arrest and experiences on the island. His wife's book describes her life and periodical detentions between 1930 and 1932, when with her husband and child she escaped to Finland.

KITCHIN, G. *Prisoner of the OGPU*. 336 pp. LN (US pr.), 1935. [By a Finnish (half-English) business agent who was

in prison from 1928 to 1932, for the most part in penal camps in North Russia.]

BEAUSOBRE, I. DE. *The Woman Who Could not Die*. 307 pp. CW, 1938. [A highly subjective account of her experiences with the GPU in various prisons; vaguely written and lacking in precise details.]

EDELMAN, M. *GPU Justice*. 231 pp. AU, 1938. [Written from the notes of Peter Kleist, a German engineer, who went to Moscow in 1933, was arrested in 1937 on a charge of espionage, and after a brief detention was acquitted but expelled from Russia. Sober and matter-of-fact narrative; an admirable corrective to more sensational writings.]

AMEEL, J. *Red Hell. Twenty Years in Soviet Russia*. 316 pp. RH, 1941. [An account of his work with the Forestry Commission and his repeated imprisonments by the GPU between 1930 and 1937. By a Belgian subject who was born in Russia and lived there till his deportation in 1937. Strongly anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik; interesting on the timber trade.]

Much of value for the early period will be found in the diaries and memoirs of such political opponents of the regime as Olga Chernova, Emma Goldman, Odette Keun, &c., most of whom were in prison at one time or another. R. EATON's *Under the Red Flag* is mainly devoted to his imprisonment by the GPU in 1923.

For the later period, see also MONKHOUSE's account of his imprisonment in 1933 in his *Moscow, 1911-1933*. RUKEYSER's *Working for the Soviet* is also important for the GPU and its interference in industry. CILIGA, in *The Russian Enigma*, describes the experiences of a member of the Opposition at the hands of the Secret Police. For the activities of the GPU abroad, see BESSEDOVSKY, *Revelations of a Soviet Diplomat*, BARMINE, *Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat*, and KRIVITSKY, *I was Stalin's Agent*.

For books on conditions in labour camps see IV. 6. c.

c. THE 'INDUSTRIAL PARTY' TRIAL, 1930

In Nov. 1930 eight leading Soviet engineers were tried on a charge of sabotage and plotting with a foreign power (France).

Wreckers on Trial. A Record of the Trial of the Industrial Party, held in Moscow, November-December 1930. Edited with a foreword by A. Rothstein. 214 pp. MB, 1931. [An abbreviated record of the proceedings. (A fuller record will be found in French: *Le procès du parti industriel de Moscou. Compte rendu abrégé.* With a preface by Georges Valois (Pierre Dominique). 744 pp. Paris, 1931.)]

HOLMES, W. M. *The Wreckers Exposed, in the Trial of the Counter-Revolutionary Industrial Party.* 23 pp. MB, 1931. [Eye-witness account of the trial. (Communist pamphlet.)]

GOODE, W. T. *Is Intervention in Russia a Myth? An excursion into recent political history.* 126 pp. WN, 1931. [Mainly concerned with this trial, though dealing also with earlier intervention and White atrocities.]

d. THE MENSHEVIK TRIAL, 1931

In March 1931 fourteen professors and civil servants were tried on a charge of counter-revolutionary activities, which included intriguing with Menshevik elements in Russia and members of the Second International abroad.

No full record of the trial is available in English.

The Menshevik Trial. The Text of the Indictment of the Counter-Revolutionary Menshevik Organization. 88 pp. MB, 1931. [The speech of the Public Prosecutor (Krylenko) against the accused.]

KRZHYZHANOVSKY, G. M. *Anti-Soviet Sabotage Exposed.* 40 pp. MB, 1931. [Pamphlet by the head of the State Planning Commission analysing the evidence and attacking the accused.]

ADLER, F. W. ; ABRAMOVITCH, R. ; BLUM, L. ; and VANDERVELDE, E. *The Moscow Trial and the Labour and Socialist International*. 48 pp. LP, 1931. [Reply to the charges on behalf of the Second International.]

e. THE METROPOLITAN-VICKERS TRIAL, 1938

In March 1938, six British engineers, employed by Metropolitan-Vickers, were arrested together with eleven Russians on a charge of wrecking and other activities. They were tried in April, and their condemnation was followed by a temporary breach in trading relations between Britain and the USSR.

Wrecking Activities at Power Stations in the Soviet Union. 798 pp. AU (USSR pr.), 1938. [Verbatim report of the trial.]

The Moscow Trial (April 1938). Compiled by W. P. Coates. Preface by A. G. Walkden. Foreword by D. N. Pritt. 165 pp. ARPC, 1938. [Summary record of the trial, with a partisan account of the circumstances.]

Russia No. 1 (1938). *Correspondence relating to the arrest of employees of the Metropolitan-Vickers Co. at Moscow*. 28 pp. Cmd. 4286. SO, 1938.

Russia No. 2 (1938). *Further Correspondence . . .* 20 pp. Cmd. 4290. SO, 1938. [These two contain telegrams and other communications between the British Embassy in Moscow and the British Govt. between 12 March and 7 April.]

The Moscow Trial. USSR does not mean Mexico. 8 pp. MB, 1938. [Reprint (from the ARPC Press Bulletin) of a conversation between Sir Esmond Ovey and M. Litvinov.]

CUMMINGS, A. J. *The Moscow Trial*. 287 pp. G, 1938. [Interesting independent account of proceedings by the *News Chronicle* correspondent, who was present at the trial. He disbelieves in the prisoners' guilt, but is sharply critical of British handling of the affair throughout.]

KEETON, G. W. *The Problem of the Moscow Trial*. 148 pp. B, 1938. [Discussion, by an English barrister, of the legal aspects, particularly the procedure and the issues in international law. Very fair.]

DOBB, M. *The Press and the Moscow Trial*. 16 pp. FSU, 1933. [Account of how the trial was treated in the British Press.]

Spies, Wreckers and Grafters. *The Truth about the Moscow Trial*. 15 pp. FSU, 1933. [Pamphlet attacking British policy.]

The Moscow Trial : new light on the case. 19 pp. 'The Times', 1933. [Reprint of 4 articles in *The Times*, (May 1933).]

See also his own account by the principal defendant, ALLAN MONKHOUSE, in his *Moscow, 1911-1933*.

f. THE TROTSKYITE TRIALS AND THE GREAT PURGE, 1936-8

The murder of Kirov on 1 Dec. 1934 was followed by the trial in Jan. 1935 of a number of 'Old Bolsheviks', accused of Trotskyist sympathies and plots against the regime. (Some unilluminating comments, and an attack on the attitude of British Left-Wing opinion in the early stages of the Purge, will be found in W. G. SHEPHERD, *The Truth about the Murder of Kirov*. 32 pp. MB, 1935.) This was the prelude to a series of gigantic 'purges', spread over the next three years, the most spectacular features of which were the three great trials referred to below and the execution of Marshal Tukhachevsky and other generals after a trial held *in camera* in June 1937.

(i) *The trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, &c.* (Aug. 1936) *Report of Court Proceedings. The Case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre. Heard before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, Moscow, August 19-24, 1936*. 180 pp. People's Commissariat of Justice, Moscow, 1936. [Verbatim report of proceedings, abbreviated in certain parts.]

The Moscow Trial (1936). Preface by D. N. Pritt. 78 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Abbreviated record of proceedings.]

PRITT, D. N. *The Moscow Trial was fair*. With additional matter on the personalities and background of the trial

- by Pat Sloan. 15 pp. RTS, 1936. [Repr. of articles in the *News Chronicle*, with explanation of the trial.]
- PRITT, D. N. *The Zinoviev Trial*. 39 pp. G, 1936.
[Pamphlet endorsing the conduct and results of the trial, at which the author was present.]
- ADLER, F. W. *The Witchcraft Trial in Moscow*. 36 pp.
Issued by the Commission of Enquiry into the Condition of Political Prisoners, 1937. [Pamphlet, by one of the leaders of the Second International, attacking the trial, with special reference to Pritt's pamphlet. Important. (The author refutes certain parts of the evidence, in which he was personally implicated.)]
- (2) *The Trial of Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov, &c. (Jan. 1937) Report of Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre. Heard before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, Moscow, January 23-30, 1937.* 580 pp. People's Commissariat of Justice, Moscow, 1937. [Verbatim report of proceedings.]
- The Moscow Trial (January 1937), and two speeches by Joseph Stalin.* Preface by R. T. Miller. Foreword by N. Maclean. Compiled by W. P. and Z. K. Coates. 281 pp. ARPC, 1937. [An abbreviated version of the proceedings; the preface, describing the behaviour of the accused, is by an eye-witness of the trial. (The two speeches of Stalin included in the volume were delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in March, 1937.)]
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- COLLARD, D. *Soviet Justice, and the Trial of Radek and others.* Introd. by D. N. Pritt. 208 pp. G, 1937. [By an English barrister who was present at the trial, and was convinced of the prisoners' guilt. (Radek's evidence is printed in full in an appendix.)]
- POLLITT, H., and DUTT, R. P. *The Truth about Trotskyism. Moscow Trial, January 1937.* 36 pp. CP, 1937.
[Communist pamphlet, including full text of the indictment.]

Two excellent articles may also be mentioned: SIR J. MAYNARD, 'Light on the Trotskyist Trials', *Political Quarterly*,

viii, July 1937, pp. 403-16, and M. RADIN, 'The Moscow Trials, a legal view', *Foreign Affairs*, xvi, Oct. 1937, pp. 64-79. See also FEUCHTWANGER'S *Moscow 1937* for another eyewitness account, and FISCHER'S *Men and Politics* for illuminating comments on the whole series of trials. WALTER DURANTY'S *The Kremlin and the People* (176 pp. HH, 1942) is mainly an interpretation of the Trials and the Great Purge, and an estimate of their effects on the country. The dispatches and comments of the American ambassador are of great interest (J. E. DAVIES, *Mission to Moscow*). See also the books dealing with the Opposition in III. 2. c, notably the *Letter of an Old Bolshevik* and 'VICTOR SERGE', *From Lenin to Stalin*.

(3) *The Trial of Bukharin, Rykov, Borodin, &c. (March 1938) Report of Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists", heard before the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, Moscow, March 2-13, 1938.* 800 pp. People's Commissariat of Justice, Moscow, 1938. [Verbatim report of proceedings.]

PONOMAREV, B. *The Plot against the Soviet Union and World Peace. Facts and Documents. Compiled from the Verbatim Report of the Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists".* 187 pp. LW, 1938. [Long extracts from the verbatim report, with highly prejudiced comments and intervening matter.]

ARNOT, R. P., and BUCK, T. *Fascist Agents exposed in the Moscow Trials.* 23 pp. CP, 1938. [General discussion of the trial and its issues by Communist eyewitnesses.]

Since the trial of Tukhachevsky and the other army officials was held *in camera*, no report was ever published. A Communist apologia will be found in H. R. GEORGE, *Eight Soviet Generals plotted against Peace* (18 pp. FSU, 1937). The most interesting commentary is an anonymous article by *Balticus*, 'The Russian Mystery. Behind the Tukhachevsky Plot', *Foreign Affairs*, xvi, Oct. 1937, pp. 44-63. See also KRIVITSKY, *I was Stalin's Agent* (1939).

After the second trial, an unofficial Committee of Left-Wing public men was set up in America to investigate, in his own interest, the charges levied against Trotsky.

The Case of Leon Trotsky. Report of Hearings on the Charges made against him in the Moscow Trials. By the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry: J. Dewey (Chairman); C. Beals (resigned), O. Ruehle, B. Stolberg, S. La Follette. 617 pp. SW, 1937. [Verbatim report of the examination of Trotsky at Mexico City in April 1937.]

Not Guilty. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. John Dewey (Chairman), John Chamberlain, &c. 422 pp. SW, 1938. [Report on the work of the committee, with full and detailed examination of the charges, leading to a complete exoneration of Trotsky and his son. (Contains useful brief biographies of all the persons accused.)]

Summary of the Final Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. 24 pp. Workers' International Press, 1938. [Summary of the preceding item.]

Rather than become possible victims of a purge, two Russians working abroad refused at the end of 1937 to return to the USSR, and subsequently published their memoirs: see KRIVITSKY, *I was Stalin's Agent* (1939), and BARMINE, *Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat* (1938).

5. THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL (COMINTERN)

The fact that the Third International, since its foundation, has had its seat at Moscow, and the obviously close relationship (and often subordination) of its activities to the interests of Soviet foreign policy, renders it necessary to devote a section to it here. The following list of books and pamphlets makes no attempt to follow up the activities of the Communist Party in Great Britain or any other country save in so far as they have affected Soviet Russia.

The works below must be generally supplemented by those in III. 6, on Soviet foreign policy, by those in III. 8 to III 11,

on the lives and writings of the chief Soviet leaders. A subsection on Communist China has been included below, but no attempt has been made to deal with the temporary Communist republics set up in Hungary, Bavaria and elsewhere after the War of 1914-18, or with the revolutionary movement in Germany in the early 'twenties.

a. GENERAL STUDIES

- BORKENAU, F. *The Communist International*. 442 pp. F, 1938. [A valuable study by a former German Communist, strongly critical of Communist leadership. Useful bibl.]
- JAMES, C. L. R. *World Revolution, 1917-1936. The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*. 429 pp. SW, 1937. [A very well-informed but uneven study, written from the Trotskyist standpoint and occasionally degenerating into anti-Stalinist polemic. No bibl., and few references.]
- FLORINSKY, M. T. *World Revolution and the USSR*. 264 pp. MM (US pr.), 1933. [A study of the policy of the Comintern up to 1933, and its relationship with Soviet foreign policy. Strongly anti-Communist in approach.]

Much about the events of the 'twenties will be found in A. ROSENBERG's *History of Bolshevism* and in B. SOUVARINE's *Stalin*, though the latter is a far from impartial source. TROTSKY's book, *The Third International after Lenin* (Transl. J. G. Wright. 51 + 357 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1936), is also of value, despite the fact that it is one more contribution to Trotskyist-Stalinist polemics.

On the early history of the Comintern there are several contemporary studies:

- POSTGATE, R. W. *The Workers' International*. (Swarthmore International Handbooks, No. 6.) 125 pp. Swarthmore Press, 1920. [Mainly devoted to the first two Internationals, and dealing only briefly with the origins of the third.]
- DUTT, R. P. *The Two Internationals*. 92 pp.. LPD and AU, 1920. [Very valuable sketch of the breakdown of the Second and the foundation of the Third International. Reproduces some useful documents.]

SOUVARINE, B. *The Third International*. 23 pp. BSP, 1920. [Propagandist pamphlet on the fall of the Second and the foundation of the Third International. (The author was at that time a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.)]

See also R. W. POSTGATE'S *Bolshevik Theory*, which deals briefly with the Third International and reproduces some useful documents. The material collected in O. H. GANKIN and H. H. FISHER, *The Bolsheviks and The World War : The Origins of the Third International* (q.v.) covers the early history of the Party, the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences, and the preparations for the Stockholm Conference, but does not go beyond the November Revolution. There is a little in ANGELICA BALABANOFF, *My Life as a Rebel*, but in view of the fact that she was secretary of the Comintern so soon after its foundation it is disappointing that she does not tell us more.

b. DOCUMENTS

The two main sources of information regarding the activities of the Comintern are the periodicals published by its central bureau and by local Communist Parties, and the reports of its World Congresses and of the Plenums of its Executive Committee (ECCI).

The important periodicals are as follows :

Imprecorr (*International Press Correspondence*). Weekly. 1922 onwards. Berlin 1922-33, subsequently Basel. Five languages.

Continued (in England) as *World News and Views*.

The official organ of the Communist International, recording the progress and fortunes of the movement throughout the world and including practically all official and semi-official documents. In England, *Imprecorr* was succeeded by *World News and Views* on 2 July 1940.

The Communist International. Monthly. April 1919 onwards. Petrograd (Smolny), London, &c. [The official organ of the ECCI, including articles, notes, chronicle of events,

&c., connected with the Communist movement. Much less comprehensive than *Imprecorr*, but useful for the early period before this journal was started, and very much more convenient for reference. (The English version is printed by the British Communist Party. Its publication in England, particularly during the early years and again more recently, has been rather irregular.)]

Much less useful are the organs of the British Communist Party, the chief of which are the following :

- (1) *The Communist* (Nos. 1-131. Weekly, 5 Aug. 1920 to 3 Feb. 1923), continued as the *Workers' Weekly* (Nos. 1-205. Weekly, 10 Feb. 1923 to 21 Jan. 1927), continued as the *Workers' Life* (Weekly, 28 Jan. 1927 to 20 Dec. 1929), continued as the *Daily Worker* (1 Jan. 1930 to 21 Jan. 1941). [Mainly news and propaganda, including few documents and largely devoted to British affairs.]
- (2) *The Communist Review* (Vols. 1-7. Monthly [with interruptions], May 1921-Sept. 1927), continued as *The Communist* (Vols. 1-3. Monthly, Feb. 1927-Dec. 1928), recontinued as *The Communist Review* (Vols. 1-8⁸. Monthly, Jan. 1929-Aug. 1935.) [Monthly organ of news, reports, articles, &c., mainly relating to Britain, but often including official statements of the International, extracts from the Russian press, &c.]
- (3) *The Labour Monthly*. Vol. 1 onwards. Monthly, July 1921 onwards. [News commentary, articles, some book reviews, &c.]

The following is a list of official documents, mainly relating to the Congresses of the Third International and the Plenums of the Central Executive Committee, which were published in England. They are arranged in chronological order.

1st Congress (2-6 March 1919)

Only the main thesis, Lenin's speech, and the Manifesto have been published in England.

LENIN, N. *Thesis on Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship*. 28 pp. SLP (& WSF), Glasgow, 1920.

LENIN, N. *The Foundation of the Third Communist International*. 31 pp. L, 1934. [Speeches.]

The Manifesto of the Communist International. Signed by Lenin, Trotsky, Platten, Zinoviev and Rakovsky. Transl. from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* by H. J. Stenning. 12 pp. NLP, 1920. [A better version is available in R. W. POSTGATE, *Bolshevik Theory*, and R. P. DUTT, *The Two Internationals*.]

The New Communist Manifesto of the 3rd International. Preface by W. Paul. [?] pp. CP, 1920.

In May 1920 the I.L.P. formulated certain questions on the views of the Comintern regarding British conditions, and three editions of these questions, with the detailed replies of the ECCI, were published.

The I.L.P. and the Third International. 64 pp. NLP (for the ILP), 1920. [With an introductory statement by the National Council of the I.L.P.]

Moscow's Reply to the I.L.P. The Reply of the ECCI to the Questions of the British I.L.P., together with an Appeal to the Communists inside the Party. 32 pp. Left Wing Group of the I.L.P., Glasgow, 1920.

The Communist International Answers the I.L.P. [?] pp. CP, 1920.

2nd Congress (17 July-7 Aug. 1920)

The theses were printed in England, and a stenographic report of the debates, very imperfect for technical reasons, was published in the United States.

Theses :

1. *Statutes and Conditions of Affiliation of the Communist International, as adopted at the 2nd Congress*. 11 pp. CP, 1920.
2. *The Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International*. 16 pp. CP, 1920.
3. *Parliamentarism, Trade Unionism and the Communist International*. 16 pp. CP, 1920.

4. *The Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution*. 12 pp. CP, 1920. Repr. 19 pp. CP, 1934. [The reprint is slightly expurgated, certain words and phrases which in the original edition had resulted in the prosecution and imprisonment of its printer (Albert Inkpin) having been omitted.]
5. *National and Colonial Questions*. (With an Introd.) 15 pp. CP, 1920.
6. *The Agrarian Question*. (With an Introd.) 16 pp. CP, 1920.

Debates :

The Second Congress of the Communist International. Proceedings of Petrograd Session of July 17th, and of Moscow Sessions of July 19th–August 7th, 1920. 234 pp. Publications Office of the Communist International, America, 1921.

3rd Congress (22 June–12 July 1921)

Decisions of the 3rd Congress of the Communist International, held at Moscow, July 1921. 134 pp. CP, 1921. [Text of the theses and resolutions, with some omissions.]

Third Congress of the Communist International. Report of Meetings held at Moscow, June 22nd–July 12th, 1921. 166 pp. CP, 1922. [Abridged and rather unsatisfactory text of the discussions, repr. from *Moscow*, the organ of the Congress.]

One of the theses was published separately :

TROTSKY, L., and VARGA, E. *The International Situation : a Study of Capitalism in Collapse*. 20 pp. CP, 1921.

Between this Congress and the next there was published :

The 2nd and 3rd Internationals and the Vienna Union. 94 pp. LPC, 1922. [Summary of the discussions at the joint meeting of representatives at Berlin in April 1922.]

4th Congress (7 Nov.–3 Dec. 1922)

Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. 120 pp. CP, 1923.

Fourth Congress of the Communist International. Abridged Report of Meetings held at Petrograd and Moscow, Nov. 7-Dec. 3, 1922. 296 pp. CP, 1923.

Amongst publications issued between this Congress and the next may be mentioned :

RADEK, K. *The International Outlook.* 24 pp. CP, 1924. [A highly pointed survey made before the 6th Plenum of the ECCI (15 June 1923).]

From the 4th to the 5th World Congress. Report of the ECCI. 122 pp. CP, 1924. [Report prepared for the 5th Congress. summarising the work of the various sections of the ECCI. (Includes a useful list of all manifestoes issued by or on behalf of the Communist International.)]

5th Congress (17 June-8 July 1924)

Neither the theses and resolutions nor the debates, save for one speech of Zinoviev, were published separately in this country.

ZINOVIEV, G. *Towards Trade Union Unity.* 22 pp. CP, 1924.

Between this Congress and the next the following were published :

Bolshevising the Communist International. Report of the ECCI, March 21st-April 14th, 1925. 205 pp. CP, 1925. [Report of debates, text of theses, &c.]

The Communist International between the 5th and 6th World Congresses, 1924-1928. 508 pp. CP, 1928. [Report prepared for the 6th Congress on the work of the ECCI and the Communist Parties in each country.]

Communist Policy in Great Britain. The Report of the British Commission of the 9th Plenum of the Comintern. 195 pp. CP, 1928. [The reports of the commission, with the thesis of the Central Committee and other documents.]

BRAUN, P. *At the Parting of the Ways.* 130 pp. CP, 1928. [Summary of the work of the 9th Plenum in Feb. 1928.]

6th Congress (17 July-1 Sept. 1928)

Only the 'Programme' and the chief thesis of the Congress were published separately in England.

Programme of the Communist International. Together with the Statutes of the Communist International. 73 pp. MB, 1929.

Communism and the International Situation. Thesis on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International. [?] pp. MB, 1929. (This is also available in *The Attitude of the Proletariat towards War. A Collection of Documents on a vital question* [80 pp. MB, 1932], the other contents of which are (1) the resolutions of the Berne Conference of March 1915, (2) Lenin's notes on the tasks of the delegation to the Hague Conference, and (3) the resolutions of the 11th Plenum on Cachin's report.)

Between the 6th and 7th Congresses there took place four meetings of the Plenum of the ECCI, for each of which some of the reports are available in English.

10th Plenum of the ECCI (July 1929)

The World Situation and Economic Struggle. 51 pp. CP, 1929. [Theses.]

11th Plenum of the ECCI (March-April 1931)

XIth Plenum of the ECCI. Theses, Resolutions and Decisions. 31 pp. MB, 1931.

MANUILSKY, D. Z. *The Communist Parties and the Crisis in Capitalism.* 121 pp. MB, 1931. [Report and concluding speech.]

CACHIN, M. *War Preparations against the Soviet Union.* 80 pp. CP, 1931. [Including discussion.]

Discussion on the War Danger. 40 pp. CP, 1931. [Also included in preceding item.]

PIATNITSKY, O. *Urgent Questions of the Day.* 43 pp. CP, 1931. [Slightly revised and abbreviated.]

The Co-Report of the Young Communist International. 77 pp. CP, 1931.

The World Crisis and the International Class Struggle. 18 pp. CP, 1931. [Résumé of the Plenum.]

12th Plenum of the ECCI (Sept. 1932)

XIIth Plenum of the ECCI. Theses and Resolutions. 64 pp. MB, 1932.

KUUSINEN, O. [*Prepare for Power.*] *The International Situation and the Tasks of the Sections of the Comintern.* 160 pp. MB, 1932.

OKANO, —. *The War in the Far East and the Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle against Imperialist War and Military Intervention.* 52 pp. MB, 1932.

[S. GUSEV, H. POLLITT, J. PRINGLE, —. TROY.] *The Next Step in Britain, America and Ireland.* 88 pp. MB, 1932.

PIATNITSKY, O. [*'Fulfil the Decisions.'*] *The Work of the Communist Parties of France and Germany and the Tasks of the Communists in the Trade Union Movement.* 79 pp. MB, 1932.

MANUILSKY, D. Z. [*The Soviet Union and the World's Workers.*] *The USSR and the World Proletariat.* 48 pp. MB, 1932.

See also the *Guide to the XIIth Plenum. Material for Propagandists, Organisers, Reporters, Training Classes* (119 pp. MB, 1932), a general account of the proceedings.

13th Plenum of the ECCI (Dec. 1933)

Theses and Decisions of the 13th Plenum of the ECCI. 82 pp. MB, 1934.

PIECK, W. *We are fighting for a Soviet Germany.* 100 pp. MB, 1934.

PIATNITSKY, O. *The Communist Party in the fight for the masses.* 100 pp. MB, 1934.

MANUILSKY, D. Z. *Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War.* 44 pp. MB, 1934.

KNORIN, V. *Fascism, Social Democracy and the Communists.* 52 pp. MB, 1934.

WANG MING and KAN SING. *Revolutionary China Today.* 128 pp. MB, 1934.

KUUSINEN, O. W. *Fascism, the danger of war, and the tasks of the Communist Parties.* 120 pp. MB, 1934.

See also H. POLLITT, *Towards Soviet Power. A report on the 13th Plenum* (48 pp. CP, 1934), a summary and explanation of the theses and discussions.

Revolutionary Unity. Answers by leading members of the Communist International to questions raised by the I.L.P. Rank and File Delegation, May 1934. 19 pp. R. Edwards and E. Whalley, Nottingham, 1934.

7th Congress (25 July–21 August 1935)

Report of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International. [643 pp.] MB, 1936. [A volume made up of the separate reports and speeches bound together (no continuous pagination), with a 16-pp. table of contents and index.]

Separate items (in alphabetical order; all MB, 1935):

CACHIN, M. *The Communist Party of France fights for the People's Front.* 15 pp.

DIMITROV, G. *The Working Class against Fascism.* 79 pp.

„ „ „ „ „ „ *Speech in reply to the discussion.* 32 pp.

„ *The Future is the Workers'. Concluding Address.* 12 pp.

ERCOLI, —. *The Fight against War and Fascism (with reply to the discussion).* 78 pp.

Full text of the Resolutions and Decisions adopted at the 7th Congress. 40 pp.

GOTTWALD, K. *For the People's Front of Labour, Freedom and Peace.* 16 pp.

KUUSINEN, O. *The Movement of the Youth and the struggle against Fascism and the danger of War.* 16 pp.

MANUILSKY, D. Z. *The Results of Socialist Construction in the USSR.* 46 pp.

„ *The Work of the 7th Congress of the Communist International. Speech delivered to the active members of the Moscow Organisation of the CPSU, Sept. 14, 1935.* 63 pp.

„ *Engels in the Struggle for Revolutionary Marxism.* 29 pp.

MARTY, A. *For Peace! For the Defence of the Soviet Union!* 20 pp.

MING, WANG. *Revolutionary Movements in the Colonial Countries*. 48 pp.

PIECK, W. *Report on the activities of the ECCI (with reply to the discussion)*. 86 pp.

POLLITT, H. *Unity against the National Government*. 32 pp.

THOREZ, M. *The Successes of the Anti-Fascist United Front*. 89 pp.

Dimitrov's three contributions were also published under the title *The Working Class against Fascism* (127 pp. L, 1935), and again in *The United Front* (1938).'

C. COMINTERN OFFICIALS

It may be convenient to give here, for purposes of reference, a list of the works of Bela Kun, Dimitrov, Manuilsky and Piatnitsky which have been published in England, with cross-references to where further details can be found.

(1) BELA KUN

Marxism versus Social Democracy. 73 pp. MB, 1933. [Address to the Plenum of the ECCYI in Dec. 1932.]

Revolutionary Essays. (International Socialist Library, 15.) 46 pp. BSP, 1919. [Articles repr. from *Pravda*, April-July 1918.]

The Second International in Dissolution. 84 pp. MB, 1934. [Article written in the summer of 1933.]

Unity of Action. The Most Burning Question. 64 pp. MB (US pr.), 1934. [Article written July 1934.]

He also wrote the introduction to the *Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic* (1934).

For some biographical information (up to 1928) about Bela Kun, Eugene Varga, and other Hungarian Communists who settled in Russia, see the extremely hostile and sometimes inaccurate account of E. MALYUSZ, *The Fugitive Bolsheviks* (441 pp. GR, 1931). One may mention also BARON A. KAAS and F. DE LAZAROVICS, *Bolshevism in Hungary. The Béla Kun Period* (411 pp. GR, 1931), also violently prejudiced but useful for its references and the documents it includes.

(2) G. DIMITROV

After Munich. (International Pamphlets, 1.) 47 pp. MB, 1941. [Substance of an article in *Pravda*, 7 Nov. 1938, together with the Manifesto of the ECCI of the same date.]

Communism and the War. 24 pp. MB, 1939. [Article on the War, and Manifesto of the ECCI of 6 Nov. 1939.]

The Future is the Workers'. [See above, 7th Congress.]

Letters from Prison. Compiled with explanatory notes by A. Kurella. Transl. by D. Torr and M. Davidson. 160 pp. G (and L), 1935. [Valuable collection of all documents written by Dimitrov during his imprisonment.]

The People's Front against Fascism and War. 16 pp. T. H. Wintringham, 1937. [Article published in *Pravda* on 7 Nov. 1936, with some additional matter.]

The United Front. The Struggle Against Fascism and War. 287 pp. LW (US pr.), 1938. [Reports, articles and speeches from Aug. 1935 to the end of 1937.]

Unity will Conquer. Dimitrov's appeal for International Unity of Action, and the answer of the Labour and Socialist International. 39 pp. MB, 1935. [Appeal dated 25 Sept. 1935, with the reply of the Second International of Oct. 12.]

What you can do against Fascism and War. 32 pp. CP, 1936. [Extracts from his speeches at the 7th Congress.]

The Working Class Against Fascism. [See above, 7th Congress.]

See also *The Reichstag Fire Trial. The Second Brown Book of the Hitler Terror* (Foreword by D. N. Pritt and appendix by L. Feuchtwanger. 362 pp. LA, 1934), a general account of the trial with an introduction by Dimitrov himself. There is a fairly adequate popular (Communist) biography by S. D. BLAGOYEVA, *Dimitrov. A Biography* (124 pp. L (US pr.), 1935), which is largely devoted to his trial and reproduces his final speech in full. The latter is available separately as *Dimitrov Accuses. The Final Leipzig Speech* (24 pp. Workers' Bookshop, 1934).

(3) D. Z. MANUILSKY

The Communist Parties and the Crisis in Capitalism. [See above, 11th Plenum.]

Engels in the Struggle for Revolutionary Marxism. [See above, 7th Congress.]

Lenin and the International Labour Movement. [See III. 8. a.] *Marxism. The Doctrine of Proletarian Dictatorship.* 48 pp. CP, 1933. [Address delivered at Moscow on the 50th anniversary of Marx's death.]

The Results of Socialist Construction in the USSR. [See above, 7th Congress.]

Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War. [See above, 13th Plenum.]

Social Democracy—Stepping Stone to Fascism, or Otto Bauer's latest discovery. 64 pp. MB, 1933. [Address to the ECCYI, December 1932.]

The USSR and the World Proletariat. [See above, 12th Plenum.]

The Work of the 7th Congress of the Communist International. [See above, 7th Congress.]

(4) O. PIATNITSKY

The Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties by eradicating the Social-Democratic Traditions. (Repr. from *The Communist International*.) 23 pp. MB, 1932. [Lecture on Party Organisation to a Conference of International CP Schoolteachers, 1932.]

The Communist Party in the fight for the masses. [See above, 13th Plenum.]

[‘Fulfil the Decisions.’] *The Work of the Communist Parties of France and Germany . . .* [See above, 12th Plenum.]

The Immediate Tasks of the International Trade Union Movement. 40 pp. MB, 1930. [Article written in the summer of 1930.]

Memoirs of a Bolshevik. 224 pp. L, 1933. [Covers the period 1896–Feb. 1917.]

The Organisation of a World Party. 94 pp. CP, 1928. [Reprint of articles on the Communist Parties in various countries.]

The Present Situation in Germany. 44 pp. 2nd edn. 48 pp. MB, 1933. [Detailed study of the position in 1933. The 2nd edn. includes the CI Resolution on Germany of 1 April 1933.]

- The 21 Points of the Communist International.* 32 pp. MB, 1934. [General exposition of conditions of membership and the situation in various countries.]
- Unemployment and the Tasks of the Communists.* 48 pp. MB, 1931. [Article written in the summer of 1931.]
- Urgent Questions of the Day.* [See above, 11th Plenum.]
- World Communists in Action.* 64 pp. MB, 1930. [General survey of the position of the Party in each country, and particularly in France and Germany.]
- The World Economic Crisis. The Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Communist Parties.* 122 pp. MB, 1933. [Article written early in 1933.]

d. COMMUNIST CHINA

The history of Communism in China is so important, both in itself and for its influence on the balance of power in the Comintern and the Russian Communist Party, that it is essential to include here some references to the literature on the subject.

The majority of general studies on modern Chinese history deal more or less adequately with the activities of the Chinese Communists. One may mention in particular H. GANNES, *When China Unites. A History of China's Struggle for National Independence* (276 pp. DT, 1938), a history of China from 1911 onwards, which devotes particular attention to the Communists but was completed just before the publication of EDGAR SNOW's *Red Star over China*, and the brief but clear chapter in J. M. D. PRINGLE and M. RAJCHMAN, *China Struggles for Unity* (182 pp. PB, 1939). There are good chapters in O. M. GREEN, *China's Struggle with the Dictators* (259 pp. HN, 1941), in G. E. SOKOLSKY, *The Tinder Box of Asia*, and in R. T. POLLARD, *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931*; see below, III. 6. d.

On the Hankow regime and its overthrow by Chiang Kai-Shek in 1927 there is an abundant literature.

CHAPMAN, H. O. *The Chinese Revolution, 1926-27. A record of the period under Communist Control as seen from the Nationalist Capital, Hankow.* 310 pp. C, 1928. [A history of events from Aug. 1926 to Aug. 1927, by a foreigner who was in Hankow from Jan. 1927 onwards.]

- STRONG, A. L. *China's Millions. The Revolutionary Struggle from 1927 to 1935.* 416 pp. G, 1936. [Personal observations of an American Communist journalist who was in Hankow from May 1927 onwards and travelled back to Russia in company with Borodin. With a brief account of later events from other sources.]
- SHEAN, V. *In Search of History.* 448 pp. HH, 1935. [Includes his experiences at Hankow in 1927 (he left just before the regime fell), with admirable portraits of Borodin, Madame Sun-Yat-Sen, and others. (Also later contacts with the Chinese leaders in Moscow.)]
- RANSOME, A. *The Chinese Puzzle.* 189 pp. AU, 1927. [Includes sketches of Borodin and other members of the Hankow Govt., by an English Left Wing journalist.]
- 'Red' *Hands on China.* 79 pp. Bemrose, 1927. [Well-informed account of the part played by the Bolsheviks in the Chinese Revolution, with many citations from the Soviet Press. Strongly anti-Bolshevik.]

The Trotskyist interpretation of events will be found in two works :

- TROTSKY, L. *Problems of the Chinese Revolution. With appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others.* Transl. with introduction by M. Shachtman. 482 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1932. [A bitter attack on Stalin's policy. The appendices include confidential reports by Comintern agents on the Communist débâcle which fell into Trotsky's hands.]
- ISAACS, H. R. *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution.* Introd. by L. Trotsky. 502 pp. SW, 1938. [Detailed and scholarly history of the events of 1925-7, with excellent notes and references, and a general sketch of subsequent events from 1927 to 1937. Written from the Trotskyist point of view.]

There is no large-scale statement from the Stalinist standpoint, but one may mention the section dealing with China in Stalin's speech on the international situation before the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control

Commission of the CPSU on 1 Aug. 1927 (included in J. STALIN, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*), and to N. BUKHARIN, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* (Transl. E. and C. Paul. 50 pp. CP, 1927), a report to a meeting of CP organisers in Moscow in May 1927. The account in L. FISCHER, *The Soviets in World Affairs*, appears from internal evidence to be based mainly on information supplied by Borodin.

The general relations of the Comintern and the Kuomintang are discussed in T. C. Woo, *The Kuomintang and the Future of the Chinese Revolution* (278 pp. AU, 1938), and T'ANG LEANG-LI, *The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution* (391 pp. R, 1930). Both reflect the views of the Left Wing of the Kuomintang, the former being by a Foreign Office official who accompanied Borodin back to Russia.

One may also mention the two novels of A. MALRAUX about the revolutionary movement in China, *Storm in Shanghai* (Transl. from the French by A. Macdonald. 348 pp. M, 1934) and *The Conquerors* (Transl. W. S. Whale. 282 pp. CA, 1929), since they are largely based on first-hand knowledge. (The second of them is about the revolt in Canton.)

On the first Chinese Soviet Republic, situated in Kiangsi and Fukien, which lasted from 1927 to 1934, there are also several useful works.

Fundamental Laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic. Introd. by Bela Kun. 87 pp. L, 1934. [The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic.]

MAO TSE-TUNG. *Red China.* 34 pp. L, 1934. [Report on the progress of the Republic, delivered by the President at the 2nd National Soviet Congress on 22 Jan. 1934.]

YAKHONTOFF, V. A. *The Chinese Soviets.* 296 pp. L (US pr.), 1934. [A valuable account, based on such literature and reports as were available to the author, but lacking any first-hand acquaintance with the Republic. Many useful documents, including the Constitution, are reproduced in appendices.]

SMEDLEY, A. *China's Red Army Marches.* 311 pp. LW, 1936. [Account of the campaigns with the Nationalist

troops between 1928 and 1931, based on personal information from the participants. (The official Nanking version is given in *Suppressing Communist Banditry in China*. ['China Today' Series, No. 1.] 131 pp. Shanghai, 1934.)]

FLEMING, P. *One's Company. A Journey to China*. 319 pp. CA, 1939. [Includes a visit to the 'front' in Kiangsi in the summer of 1933. Excessively journalistic.]

YORKE, G. *China Changes*. 334 pp. CA, 1935. [Includes a brief but fair account of the Soviet Republic. (The author visited the 'front' in company with Peter Fleming.)]

In Oct. 1934 the Communists set out on their epic march to the North-West, the story of which is told by Edgar Snow. Since the 'Sian Incident' (Dec. 1936), and the alignment of the Communists with Chiang Kai-Shek in the war with Japan, the new Soviet Republic in Shansi and Shensi has been visited by a number of reporters and other travellers, who have left their accounts of conditions there.

SNOW, E. *Red Star over China*. 464 pp. G, 1937. [The classic account of the Great Trek, and of conditions in the new Soviet Republic, by an American journalist who spent several months in Shansi in 1936 and heard about the march from those who participated in it. He also gives the Communist viewpoint on the 'Sian Incident'.]

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, GEN. and MADAME. *China at the Crossroads. An account of the fortnight in Sian, when the fate of China hung in the balance*. 232 pp. F, 1937. [Includes extracts from the General's diary, 11-26 Dec. 1936. Very much an 'official' account for publication.]

BERTRAM, J. M. *Crisis in China. The Story of the Sian Mutiny*. 318 pp. MM, 1937. [Valuable account and interpretation of the incident by a foreign journalist who stayed in Sian early in 1937.]

SMEDLEY, A. *China Fights Back. An American Woman with the 8th Route Army*. 286 pp. G, 1938. [Despatches from the Red Army, 19 Aug. 1937 to 9 Jan. 1938.]

- With the Eighth Route Army.* 8 pp. China Campaign Cttee., 1938. [Three articles repr. from *The Times* (July 25-7, 1938), describing a visit by a correspondent to Yen-an.]
- STRONG, A. L. *China Fights for Freedom.* 231 pp. Drummond, 1939. [General sketch of the background of the war, including visits to the North-West early in 1938.]
- BERTRAM, J. *North China Front.* 514 pp. MM, 1939. [Travels in North China in 1937-8, including visits to the Communist areas.]
- AUDEN, W. H., and ISHERWOOD, C. *Journey to a War.* 301 pp. F, 1939. [Includes a brief visit to Sian in 1938, but unimportant so far as the Chinese Communists are concerned.]
- CRESSY-MARCKS, V. *Journey into China.* 324 pp. HS, 1940. [Admirable account of a journey in the interior of China, from Burma to Koko-Nor, in 1938-9. Includes a visit to the Soviet Republic and an interview with Mao Tse-Tung.]
- HOMER, J. *Dawn Watch in China.* 288 pp. CO, 1941. [Includes a visit to the Soviet Republic in 1939. By an American journalist.]
- LAUTENSCHLAGER, S. *With Chinese Communists.* 24 pp. Edinburgh House Press, 1941. [Brief account of a 5-day visit to Yen-an, the Soviet capital, in 1940, and discussion of the possibility of Christian missionary work there.]
- STRONG, A. L. *China's New Crisis. With other authentic documents.* (Key Books, No. 14.) 62 pp. Fore Publications, 1941. [An article and various documents dealing with the tension existing between the Communists and the Kuomintang in 1940-1.]

The two following books are general studies of the Sino-Japanese War, with special reference to the Communist part in it:

- EPSTEIN, I. *The People's War.* 384 pp. G, 1939. [To 1938.]
- SNOW, E. *Scorched Earth.* 396 pp. G, 1941. [Chiefly 1938-40.]

c. MISCELLANEOUS

- BRAMLEY, F. *Relations with Russia. A speech in favour of International Trade Union Unity.* 20 pp. T.U. Unity, 1925. [Speech before the I.F.T.U. at Amsterdam on 6 Feb. 1925 advocating closer relations with Russia.]
- BRATKOVSKI, J. *Poland on the Road to Revolutionary Crisis.* 218 pp. MB, 1933. [Communist analysis, with particular reference to revolutionary possibilities.]
- CHEMODANOV, V. *We are for the United Front.* 15 pp. YCL, 1934. [Article by the Secretary of the YCI, repr. from the *Communist International*.]
- Communist Papers. Documents selected from those obtained on the arrest of the Communist leaders on the 14th and 21st October, 1925.* 135 pp. Cmd. 2682. SO, 1926. [Documents illustrating the relations of the Communist Party of Great Britain with the Comintern.]
- Constitution of the Red International of Trades Unions and the British Bureau.* 13 pp. NMM, 1921. [Text of Constitution drawn up at the First World Congress at Moscow in July 1921.]
- DINGLE, R. J. *Russia's Work in France.* 278 pp. RH, 1938. [A Right-Wing study of the French political situation, containing a certain amount about the Third International.]
- Documents illustrating the hostile activities of the Soviet Government and the Third International against Great Britain.* [Russia No. 1 (1927).] Cmd. 2874. SO, 1927. [Mainly documents seized in the 'Arcos Raid'.]
- For International Trade Union Unity.* 28 pp. MB, 1935. [Text of proposal of the Red International, and its rejection by Amsterdam.]
- GIBBS, H. *The Spectre of Communism.* 287 pp. SB, 1936. [An anti-Bolshevik treatise describing the machinations of the Comintern and its plots for ruining Britain. Largely based on press reports.]
- LOZOVSKY, A. *British and Russian Workers.* 48 pp. NMM, 1927. [Their relations during and after the General Strike.]

LOZOVSKY, A. *The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions*. 64 pp. International Council of T.U.s (Norway pr.), 1920. [Study of the origins of the Red International.]

„ *On the 4th RILU Congress*. 11 pp. NMM, 1928. [Summary of events since the 3rd Congress and agenda for the 4th.]

„ *What is the Red International of Trade Unions?* 24 pp. NMM, 1928. [Article for the 10th Anniversary of its foundation.]

„ *The World's Trades Union Movement*. 264 pp. NMM, 1925. [Eleven lectures dealing with Trade Union history and policy, and the relations between the Moscow and Amsterdam Internationals.]

MANN, T. *Russia in 1921*. 55 pp. British Bureau of RILU, 1921. [Report of British delegate to the 1st World Congress at Moscow, July 1921.]

MURPHY, J. T. *The 'Reds' in Congress*. 28 pp. British Bureau of RILU, 1921. [Preliminary Report, based on Murphy's notes, of the 1st World Congress in July 1921.]

„ *New Horizons*. 352 pp. LA, 1932. [Autobiography of a former member of the Party; important for the Comintern in the 'twenties, and for the author's judgments on Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Bukharin, &c.]

PIATNITSKY, O. *The Immediate Tasks of the International Trades Union Movement*. 40 pp. MB, 1930. [General survey on the eve of the 5th World Congress.]

PLISNIER, C. *Memoirs of a Secret Revolutionary*. Transl. from the French by C. Dunlop. 286 pp. BW, 1938. [Contacts of a Belgian ex-Communist with the Comintern.]

[Red International of Labour Unions.] *Resolutions and Decisions of the 1st International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions, 3rd till 19th July, 1921*. Introd. by A. Lozovsky. 121 pp. Union Publ. Co., Glasgow, 1922. [See also under *Constitution of the Red International* and under J. T. Murphy and T. Mann, above.]

[„ „] *Resolutions and Decisions of the 2nd World Congress of the RILU, 19 Nov.-2 Dec. 1922*. 48 pp. RILU, 1923.

- [Red International of Labour Unions.] *The Tasks of the International Trades Union Movement*. 90 pp. NMM, 1924. [Resolutions and Decisions of the 3rd World Congress, Moscow, July 1924.]
- ["] *Report of the 4th Congress of the RILU*. 200 pp. NMM (for RILU), 1928. [Congress of March 1928.]
- ["] *Resolutions of the 5th World Congress*. 173 pp. NMM, 1931. [Theses of the Moscow Congress, Aug. 1930.]
- Red Money. A Statement of the facts relating to the money raised in Russia during the General Strike and Mining Lock-out in Britain*. Prepared by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, and transl. by E. and C. Paul. Foreword by A. J. Cook. 96 pp. LRD, 1926. [Account, from the Soviet side, of how the money sent by the Russian Council of T.U.s was raised.]
- Resolutions of the Enlarged Executive of the YCI, March 1925*. 63 pp. YCL (for YCI), 1925.
- Russia and International Unity. Report to Affiliated Societies, Trades Union Congress*. 11 pp. T.U. Congress General Council, 1925. [Discussion and correspondence at a meeting of the General Council of the I.F.T.U. at Amsterdam in Feb. 1925.]
- Russian Banks and Communist Funds . . .* 58 pp. Cmd. 3125. SO, 1928. [Report by a British commission on certain transactions of Russian banks in London.]
- Some Documents concerning the Campaign against Help rendered by Russian Workers to British Strikers*. 39 pp. ARPC, 1926. [Useful in connection with the General Strike.]
- The Tenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the RILU*. 143 pp. NMM, 1927. [Collection of articles by representatives of various nationalities.]
- Thesis on Anti-Militarism adopted by the 3rd World Congress of the YCI*. Explanation and commentary by H. Young and S. Goldsmith. 11 pp. YCL (Anti-Militarist Campaign), 1928.
- TOMSKY, M. *Getting Together. Speeches delivered in Russia and England, 1924-1925*. Introd. by R. Page Arnot.

111 pp. LRD, 1925. [Various speeches on Trade Union relations and the policy of the Profintern in relation to the Amsterdam International.]

‘VALTIN, JAN.’ *Out of the Night*. 658 pp. H, 1941. [The extremely sensational memoirs of a highly placed German Communist from 1918 to 1938; important for the ramifications and organisation of the Comintern, and for its activities in many parts of the world. It is impossible for an outsider to say how far the details are trustworthy. (Covers the break-up of the German CP, and gives a revolting account of the cruelties of the Gestapo. Anti-Stalinist.)]

‘VIDOR, J.’ *Spying in Russia*. 284 pp. Long, 1929. [Professedly the record of a British spy who went to Russia with the British Communist Party delegation in Nov. 1927.]

WOOLF, M. *The Day is Ours*. 37 pp. YCL, 1935. [Report of M. Woolf at the 6th World Congress of the YCI.]

The Young Communist International. Between the 4th and 5th Congresses, 1924-1928. 250 pp. CP, 1928. [General survey of its work.]

” *Results of Two Congresses*. 18 pp. YCL, 1928. [Abridged report of the 6th Congress of the Comintern and the 5th Congress of the YCI, Moscow, July-Sept. 1928.]

” *Report and Decisions of the December Plenum of the YCI, Moscow, 1932*. 19 pp. YCL, 1933. [Brief report.]

Some comments on the singular incompetence of the Comintern as an agent of international revolution will be found in D. W. BROGAN, *Is Innocence Enough?* (207 pp. HH, 1941.)

6. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

a. GENERAL WORKS

FISCHER, L. *The Soviets in World Affairs*. 2 vols. 892 pp. CA, 1930. [Detailed history of Soviet foreign relations]

from Nov. 1917 to the end of 1929, by an American Left-Wing journalist. Largely based on the use of the Soviet archives and information received from Soviet and foreign statesmen. Exceptionally valuable; unfortunately lacks a bibl. (See also the same author's *Men and Politics* for supplementary information on various points.)]

MILIUKOV, P. *La Politique extérieure des Soviets*. (Bibl. d'études sur la Russie contemporaine, t. I.) 530 pp. 2nd edn. Paris, 1936. [A hostile study of Soviet policy, ending with a somewhat qualified blessing of the Franco-Soviet Pact, by the former Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Provisional Govt. (No notes, but good bibl.)]

TARACOUZIO, T. A. *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy*. 354 pp. MM, NY, 1940. [An acute and very critical analysis of Soviet foreign policy between 1917 and the end of 1939, largely from the point of view of Marxist theory and on the assumption that the Kremlin has always had in mind the possibilities of world revolution. Excellent bibl., entirely of Russian works.]

DENNIS, A. L. P. *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia*. 500 pp. DT, 1924. [Detailed and very critical study, by an American professor of history. Useful notes, but no bibl.]

ARNOT, R. PAGE. *Soviet Russia and her Neighbors*. Preface by J. Davis. 175 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1927. [Useful brief sketch of Soviet foreign relations by an English Communist. (The preface contains some interesting queries put to A. N. Mikoyan on the relations between the Soviet Govt. and the Comintern, and his answers to them.)]

GRAHAM, W. *War and Peace and the Soviet Union*. 287 pp. G, 1934. [Popular account of the position of the USSR in relation to Japan, Germany, and Britain.]

COATES, W. P. and Z. K. *World Affairs and the USSR*. 251 pp. LW, 1939. [Popular survey of international relations from 1933 to 1939, with particular reference to Soviet Russia. (Completed summer 1939.)]

PRITT, D. N. *Light on Moscow. Soviet Policy analysed*. 190 pp. PB, 1939. [Explanation and defence of Soviet foreign policy, particularly in 1939. (Written Oct. 1939.)]

- PRITT, D. N. *Must the War Spread?* 256 pp. PB, 1940. [A 'much more detailed study (completed Jan. 1940), attacking the policy of the Western Powers and discussing Russia's relations with the Baltic States.]
- FISCHER, L. *Stalin and Hitler. The Reasons for and the Results of the Nazi-Bolshevik Pact.* 95 pp. PB, 1941. [General study of, and attack on, the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Govt. in the years immediately before the War; very critical of the conclusions of Pritt's second book. (The same questions are discussed at length in Fischer's autobiography, *Men and Politics*.)]
- MURPHY, J. T. *Russia on the March. A Study of Soviet Foreign Policy.* 128 pp. LA, 1941. [Admirably clear and intelligent exposition, concentrating on the 'thirties. Completed just before the German invasion of Russia. By an important former member of the Communist Party.]
- WARD, B. *Russian Foreign Policy.* (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 34.) 32 pp. OUP, 1940. (2nd edn. 1941.) [Brief, clear and substantially correct interpretation of Soviet foreign policy.]

See also A. A. TROYANOVSKY, 'The Basic Principles of Soviet Foreign Policy', and M. W. GRAHAM, 'The Peace Policy of the Soviet Union'—the latter is particularly important—in *The Soviet Union and World Problems* (1935). A brief article by KARL RADEK on Soviet foreign policy will be found in *The Foreign Policy of the Powers*. (By J. CAMBON and others. Introd. H. F. Armstrong. 161 pp. Harper [for Council of Foreign Relations], NY, 1933.)

It is obviously impossible to give here any list of works on the general diplomatic history of Europe during the late 'thirties, though they of course deal at greater or less length with the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. Exception must be made, however, in favour of the two books of Prof. F. L. SCHUMAN, *Europe on the Eve. The Crises of Diplomacy, 1933-1939* (600 pp. RH, 1939) and *Night over Europe. The Diplomacy of Nemesis, 1939-1940* (619 pp. RH, 1941), which—despite their torrential style and their bias against the leaders of the Western Democracies—are by far the best guide to

international relations during this period, and deal adequately and not unjustly with Soviet policy up to the end of 1940 ; the second of them is particularly important, since it has been able to use documents relating to Anglo-French policy towards the Soviet Union in the spring of 1940 which are not as yet available in this country. (See also the section on Soviet foreign relations in the 3rd edn. of his *International Politics. The Western State System in Transition*. [753 pp. McGraw Hill, NY, 1941].)

Much valuable information on the earlier period is to be found in the successive volumes of the *Survey of International Affairs*, edited by A. J. Toynbee and published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. One may note particularly, in the volume for 1924 [published 1926], the section on the activities of the Comintern and the recognition of the USSR by Italy, France and other countries (pp. 161-265); in that for 1927 [1929], the section on the relations of the Soviet Union with the Great Powers of Western Europe between 1925 and 1927 (pp. 248-321); in that for 1934 [1935], the section on Franco-Soviet relations and the entry of the USSR into the League of Nations (pp. 322-415); in Vol. I for 1935 [1936], the section on the negotiation of the Franco-Soviet and Czecho-Soviet pacts (pp. 58-90); in the volume for 1936 [1937], the section on Soviet-German relations between 1933 and 1936 (pp. 370-92); and in Vol. I for 1937 [1938] a vivid summary of the early stages of the Great Purge and its effect on Russia's position abroad. In the companion series of *Documents on International Affairs* one may note, in the volume for 1928 [1929], the text of the new statutes adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Third International in 1928 (pp. 57-63); in that for 1929 [1930], the texts of the reports by Rykov (22 May 1929) and Litvinov (4 Dec. 1929) on Soviet foreign policy (pp. 159-215); and in Vol. I for 1935 [1936], the text of the treaties of the Soviet Union with France and Czechoslovakia, and other relevant documents (pp. 116-40).

BESSEDOVSKY, G. *Revelations of a Soviet Diplomat*. Transl. M. Norgate. 276 pp. WN, 1931. [Much 'inside information' sometimes rather dubious in character, about

Soviet diplomacy between 1922 and 1929, when the author, a former member of the Ukrainian Govt., broke with the Bolsheviks and settled in France.]

- BARMINE, A. *Memoirs of a Soviet Diplomat. Twenty Years in the Service of the Soviet.* Transl. G. Hopkins. 360 pp. LD, 1938. [Memoirs of a Soviet diplomat who had been a Bolshevik since 1917, and held various posts abroad till he broke with the regime in 1937.]

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- TARACOUZIO, T. A. *The Soviet Union and International Law. A Study based on the Legislation, Treaties and Foreign Relations of the USSR.* 530 pp. MM, NY, 1935. [Detailed study of the international relations of a socialist state in a capitalist world, both from the point of view of Marxist theory and from that of actual practice. Good bibl., mainly of Russian works.]

On the important issues in international law that were involved in the recognition of the Soviet regime, one may consult three articles in the *British Year-Book of International Law*: A. D. McNAIR, 'Judicial Recognition of States and Governments, and the Immunity of Public Ships' (Vol. ii, 1921-2, pp. 57-74); N. BENTWICH, 'The Soviet Government and Russian Property in Foreign Countries' (Vol. v, 1924, pp. 78-88); J. MERVYN JONES, 'The Retroactive Effect of the Recognition of States and Governments' (Vol. xvi, 1935, pp. 42-55).

Some account of the Soviet attitude on the Dardanelles question will be found in P. P. Graves, *The Question of the Straits* (215 pp. BN, 1931), a popular history dealing with the points at issue from the earliest times.

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- DAVIES, K. W. *The Soviets at Geneva. The USSR and the League of Nations, 1919-1939.* 315 pp. Kundig, Geneva, 1934. [Mainly a study of Soviet participation in various activities of the League, without reference to Soviet foreign policy.]

- Why the USSR joined the League.* (New Fabian Research Bureau, Pamphlet No. 21.) Introd. by H. Dalton. 86

pp. G and NFRB, 1935. [Useful study of Soviet foreign policy, with citations from the Soviet press, &c.]

MAHANEY, W. L. *The Soviet Union, the League of Nations, and Disarmament, 1917-1935.* (Ph.D. Dissertation.) 206 pp. Philadelphia, 1940. [Detailed study of great value. Useful bibl.]

For the Soviet disarmament proposals themselves, see the next subsection.

SCHUMAN, F. L. *American Policy towards Russia since 1917. A Study of Diplomatic History, International Law and Public Opinion.* 399 pp. L, 1929. [Scholarly study, by an American professor of history. Written from materials available in the U.S.A. Admirable bibl.]

The controversy in the United States over American recognition of the USSR is a topic of some importance, and it may be of value to indicate here two of the chief contemporary books on the subject, both of them by persons well informed on Soviet affairs.

FISCHER, L. *Why recognise Russia? The arguments for and against the recognition of the Soviet Government by the United States.* 298 pp. Ballou, NY, 1931.

LAPE, E. E., and READ, E. F. *The United States and the Soviet Union. A Report on the controlling factors in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.* 279 pp. American Foundation, Committee on Russian-American Relations; NY, 1931.

FISCHER, L. *Oil Imperialism. The International Struggle for Petroleum.* 256 pp. International Publ., NY, 1926. [Includes a good account of Russia's position in the 'oil war' up to 1926, based largely on information and material from Russian sources.]

DENNY, L. *We Fight for Oil.* 297 pp. Knopf (US pr.), 1928. [The best account of the 'oil war' in the 'twenties, with excellent sections on the Anglo-American struggle for the control of Russian oil and its repercussions on foreign policy, propaganda, &c. Full references to sources used.]

The earlier studies on the 'oil war', by E. H. DAVENPORT and S. R. COOKE (*The Oil Trusts and Anglo-American Relations*. 272 pp. MM, 1923), P. L'ESPAGNOL DE LA TRAMERIE (*The World Struggle for Oil*. Transl. by C. L. Leese. 259 pp. AU [US pr.], 1924), and A. MOHR (*The Oil War*. 234 pp. Hopkinson, 1926), do not have much to say on the subject of Russian oil. The two following pamphlets may be mentioned :

Justice or Plunder : Soviet Oil Scandal. The Facts about Soviet Confiscation and Dishonesty. 12 pp. Association of British Creditors of Russia, 1925. [Attack on the confiscation of British-owned oil properties and the marketing of their produce in Britain, with a demand for redress. (See also the Annual Reports of the Executive Committee of the Association.)]

COATES, W. P. *The Burning Question of Russian Oil. Ludicrous Failure of 'Daily Mail' Deterding Campaign*. Preface by B. Turner. 81 pp. ARPC, 1927. [General study of the anti-Soviet activities of the oil interests.]

It is not necessary to reproduce here a complete bibliography of books and pamphlets regarding Soviet intervention in the Spanish Civil War, but some indication must be given of the literature on the subject. It is of course essential to distinguish between the activities of the Spanish Communist Party, which was linked with the Third International, in the years before the outbreak, and the actual intervention of Soviet Russia, which took the form of sending arms and military experts to the assistance of the Spanish Government, from October 1936 onwards. It must also be remembered that the Soviet interveners were in fact carrying on a war on two fronts, assisting the Government against the Insurgents and at the same time pursuing their own internecine feud with the Trotskyists or semi-Trotskyists of the P.O.U.M.

Communist activities in Spain before 1936 do not come within the scope of this bibliography. Most information on the subject in English comes from such highly prejudiced Roman Catholic writers and pamphleteers as G. M. GODDEN (e.g. *Communist Operations in Spain, 1931-1936*. 24 pp. BO,

1936), A. LUNN (e.g. *Spanish Rehearsal*. 285 pp. HN, 1937), and C. GERAHTY (e.g. W. Foss and C. Gerahty, *The Spanish Arena*. 517 pp. Gifford, 1938). Some documents relating to the Communists and their alleged plans for a revolt in 1936 are reproduced in C. GERAHTY, *The Road to Madrid* (254 pp. HN, 1937). The way in which Germany and Italy, and sympathisers in other countries, exploited the 'Red Peril' is discussed in E. N. DZELEPY, *The Spanish Plot* (Transl. E. Fitzgerald and F. Budgen. Preface by 'Pertinax'. 157 pp. K, 1937). One may also refer to the writings of PROF. ALLISON PEERS, SIR GEORGE YOUNG and others. (Very useful references to the current literature will be found in the footnotes to the DUCHESS OF ATHOLL's book, *Searchlight on Spain*. 3rd ed. 280 pp. PB, 1938.)

A well-balanced account of the Soviet attitude to the Civil War, and the extent of Soviet intervention, will be found in the volumes of the *Survey of International Affairs* for 1937 (Vol. II) and 1938 (Vol. I). PROF. N. J. PADELFORD'S *International Law and Diplomacy in the Spanish Civil Strife* (710 pp. MM, NY, 1939) is a purely legal study; it reproduces all international agreements regarding non-intervention and the domestic legislation by which they were implemented in each country, but does not attempt to estimate their efficacy in practice. There is important first-hand material in LOUIS FISCHER'S autobiography, *Men and Politics*, and in W. G. KRIVITSKY'S *I was Stalin's Agent*, which professes to give the 'inside story' of intervention, and there is a little in J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO'S *Freedom's Battle* (Transl. E. E. Brooke. 367 pp. H. 1940). Soviet policy in joining the Non-Intervention Committee is justified in *Soviet Russia and Spain* (8 pp. FSU, 1936). CONSTANCIA DE LA MORA'S autobiography, *In Place of Splendour: the autobiography of a Spanish Woman* (435 pp. MJ, 1940), includes some visits to Russia during the war, and there is a vivid picture of the arrival of Soviet ships at Alicante in J. M. BLÁZQUEZ, *I helped to Build an Army. Civil War Memoirs of a Spanish Staff Officer* (Transl. F. B. and E. Mosbacher. Introd. by F. Borkenau. 361 pp. SW, 1939). Many other personal records of the war contain accounts of various episodes in the tale of Soviet help to the Government.

On the feud with the Trotskyists, there is a good deal of information in the books of Fischer and Krivitsky already referred to, and something in F. BORKENAU, *The Spanish Cockpit* (808 pp. F, 1937). A partisan account of the activities of the P.O.U.M. leaders will be found in G. SORIA, *Trotskyism in the service of Franco: facts and documents on the activities of the P.O.U.M.* (48 pp. LW, 1938). A translation of the works of one of the leading Spanish Communists is available in D. IBARRURI, *Speeches and Articles, 1936-1938* (263 pp. International Publ., NY [USSR pr.], 1938).

b. DOCUMENTS

These consist for the most part of pronouncements by Soviet leaders: With the exception of the first three items, they are arranged here in chronological order.

The Soviet Union and Peace. Preface by H. Barbusse. 292 pp. L, 1929. [Collection of the most important documents issued by the Soviet Govt. concerning peace and disarmament. (To May 1929.)]

The Soviet Union and the Path to Peace. Lenin-Stalin-Molotov-Voroshilov-Tukhachevsky. (A collection of statements and documents, 1917-1936.) 201 pp. LW, 1936. [Collection of speeches and articles, with a select appendix of memoranda, treaties, &c.]

LITVINOV, M. *Against Aggression. Speeches by Maxim Litvinov, together with texts of treaties and of the Covenant of the League of Nations.* 208 pp. LW, 1939. [Important speeches 1934-8, and a series of treaties from 1925 onwards.]

[CHICHERIN, G. V.] *The Russian Plan for the League of Nations. Text of the Russian Soviet Government's Peace Proposals sent by Tchicherine to President Wilson.* 8 pp. PRIB, 1919. [Note of 24 Oct. 1918.]

The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia. Report submitted by the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the 7th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (Nov. 1918-Dec. 1919). 32 pp. BSP, 1920.

- CHICHERIN, G. *Two Years of Foreign Policy. The Relations of the Russian Socialist Federal Republic with Foreign Nations from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919*, 36 pp. 'Soviet Russia', NY, 1920. [Pamphlet written on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Revolution.] [Genoa Conference.] *The Russian reply of May 11th to the Powers at Genoa*. [?] pp. HOR, 1922.
- The Hague Conference. Interview with the Russian Delegation*. 20 pp. HOR, 1922. [Detailed replies to questions on Russian claims arising from the damage incurred through Intervention, and Soviet hopes of credits.]
- [РЫКОВ, А. И.] *Russia's Foreign Policy*. 29 pp. ARPC, 1927. [Report to the Soviet Congress, 19 April 1927.]
- Russia's Disarmament Proposals*. Compiled by W. P. Coates. 35 pp. ARPC, 1928. 2nd edn. 62 pp. ARPC, 1928. [Litvinov's declaration of 30 Nov. 1927 to the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, the memorandum presented next day, and extracts from his report to the Party Congress on 14 Dec. 1927. The 2nd edn. contains the full text of the Russian Draft Convention presented to the Secretary-General of the League on 20 Feb. 1928.]
- USSR and Disarmament. Discussion of Russia's Disarmament Proposals at Geneva, March 16-24, 1928, Convention for Partial Disarmament, etc. etc.* Compiled by W. P. Coates. Preface by A. Ponsonby. 82 pp. ARPC, 1928. [Collection of material, speeches, &c.]
- LITVINOV, M. M. *The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union*. 32 pp. FSR, 1930. [Report to the Central Executive Committee on 4 Dec. 1929.]
- The Soviet's Fight for Disarmament*. Introd. by M. Lunacharsky. 44 pp. L, 1932. [Speeches by Litvinov at the Disarmament Conference (11 Feb. 1932) and at a luncheon at Geneva (20 Feb. 1932), with extracts from various speeches by Litvinov and Lunacharsky delivered 1929-31. (A supplement to *The Soviet Union and Peace*.)]
- Soviet's Foreign Policy. Declarations by MM. Stalin, Molotov and Litvinov*. Preface by A. Henderson. 43 pp. ARPC, 1934. [Text of Stalin's interview with Walter Duranty

(25 Dec. 1933) and speeches by Molotov (in part only) and Litvinov before the Central Executive Committee of the USSR (28, 29 Dec. 1933.)]

Relations between the USSR and Uruguay. Speeches by M. Litvinov. 32 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Litvinov's speeches and Guani's replies at the discussion by the League Council (23 Jan. 1936) of the rupture of Soviet-Uruguayan relations.]

LITVINOV, M. *The USSR and the Breach of the Locarno Treaty.* 15 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Speech before the Council of the League of Nations (17 March 1936.)]

MAISKY, I. *Economic Development of the USSR and Soviet Foreign Policy.* 23 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Speech delivered in London on 19 March 1936.]

„ *Soviet Foreign Policy.* 20 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Address to the Liberal Summer School at Oxford on 1 Aug. 1936.]

„ *Progress within the USSR and the Present International Situation.* 12 pp. ARPC, 1937. [Speech at the Congress of Peace and Friendship with the USSR, 13 March 1937.]

STALIN, J. V. *The USSR in Home and Foreign Affairs.* 51 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Speech at the 18th Congress of the CPSU, 10 March, 1939. (Deals only incidentally with foreign affairs.)]

MOLOTOV, V. M. *Peace Front against Aggression.* 16 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Speech before the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, 31 May, 1939.]

There are two editions of Molotov's speech on the ratification of the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany (31 Aug. 1939):

Soviet Russia and the Crisis. M. Molotov explains USSR's policy. 14 pp. ARPC, 1939.

Molotov's Statement in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on the Ratification of the Soviet-German Pact of Non-Aggression. 14 pp. MB, 1939.

There are two editions of his speech before the Supreme Soviet on 31 Oct. 1939:

Soviet Foreign Policy. Speech by M. Molotov . . . 19 pp.
ARPC, 1939.

Russia and the War. Molotov's speech to the Supreme Soviet . . .
19 pp. MB, 1939.

There are also two editions of his speech before the Supreme Soviet on 29 March 1940 :

The USSR, the International Situation and Peace with Finland.
17 pp. ARPC, 1940

Molotov's Speech to the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet . . .
20 pp. MB, 1940.

There is only one edition of his speech before the Supreme Soviet on 1 Aug. 1940 :

Soviet Foreign Policy. Speech by M. Molotov . . . 16 pp.
ARPC, 1940.

These four speeches are also available in a collected edition :

Soviet Peace Policy. Four speeches by V. Molotov. Foreword
by D. N. Pritt and biographical sketch by W. P. and Z.
K. Coates. 101 pp. LW (for the 'Anglo-Russian News
Bulletin'), 1941.

With regard to Soviet policy in the months of 1939 preceding the outbreak of war, the two most important series of documents, those relating to Anglo-French and to German negotiations with Moscow, have not been published. (The publication of a White Paper on Anglo-Soviet negotiations in 1939 was announced by Mr. Chamberlain in Jan. 1940, but it was held up by difficulties at Paris and it has never seen the light.) A certain amount of information can be gleaned from the British Blue Book (*Documents concerning German-Polish Relations and the Outbreak of Hostilities between Great Britain and Germany on Sept. 3, 1939.* Miscellaneous No. 9 (1939), Cmd. 6106. 28 + 195 pp. SO, 1939), from the *French Yellow Book, 1938-1939* (36 + 368 pp. HN, 1940), from the Polish White Book (see below, subsection *e*), and from the German White Book No. 2 (*Documents on the events preceding the Outbreak of the War.* 549 pp. German Library of Information, NY, 1940). To these one may

add the despatches and other documents included by the American Ambassador at Moscow, Mr. Davies, in his *Mission to Moscow*. The German Library of Information at New York published in 1940 a mimeographed volume (*German White Book No. 6*) of translations from the secret political records of the French General Staff, which fell (or were betrayed) into German hands in June 1940; some of these are of the greatest importance for the light they throw on Franco-British reactions during the Soviet-Finnish war.

For all official documents issued after the outbreak of the Soviet-German War in June 1941, see III. 7. b.

C. ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS

A scholarly study of Anglo-Soviet relations between 1917 and 1941 is one of the desiderata of modern historical literature; there is nothing of the kind in existence, and apart from the general works listed above in subsection *a* one has practically to fall back on the pamphlet literature. On the policy of the first Labour Government in 1924 there is a useful article by H. WISH, 'Anglo-Soviet Relations during Labour's First Ministry', in the *Slavonic Review*, xvii, 1938-9, pp. 387-403, and a good contemporary account by G. Glasgow, *Macdonald as Diplomatist. The Foreign Policy of the First Labour Government in Great Britain* (Foreword by G. P. Gooch. 223 pp. CA, 1924). The section on Russia in Sir A. WILLERT's *Aspects of British Foreign Policy* (141 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1928) is little more than an apologia for the breaking off of diplomatic relations after the Arcos Raid. The political biographies of the period must be consulted, though they tend to be disappointing; even Harold Nicolson, in *Curzon: the Last Phase, 1919-1925* (416 pp. CO, 1934), has little to say about the attitude of the Foreign Minister towards the regime which he so wholeheartedly disliked. J. D. GREGORY's memoirs, *On the Edge of Diplomacy: Rambles and Reflections, 1902-1928* (286 pp. HN, 1929), have a little about Anglo-Soviet relations in the 'twenties. One may perhaps mention Mrs N. H. WEBSTER, *The Surrender of an Empire* (392 pp. Boswell, 1931), a study of the British position in post-war years as seen from the extreme Right; it is largely a tale of Bolshevik machinations,

real and imaginary, against the integrity and power of the British Empire.

The following list is confined to the pamphlet literature between 1922 and 1932 ; for the period before 1922, see II. 4. *a* on *Intervention*, and for that after 1932, see III. 6. *a* and III. 6. *g*. Government publications (texts of treaties, diplomatic correspondence, &c.) will be found listed in Appendix II. For charges against Soviet leaders and the literature on the so-called 'Zinoviev letter', see III. 1. *c, d* ; for the great controversy over conditions in the Soviet timber trade, see IV. 6. *c* ; and for the Metropolitan-Vickers Trial in 1933, see III. 4. *e*.

The Economic Importance of Russia. Preface by W. P. Coates. 11 pp. HOR, 1922. [Statistics on Russian trade, in support of a trade treaty.]

Labour's Russian Policy. 5 pp. HOR, 1922. [Brief statement of policy.]

Krassin-Curzon Conference. The points in dispute. 4 pp. HOR, 1923. [Notes on the memoranda.]

RAKOVSKY, C. G. *Russia's Economic Future.* 8 pp. HOR, 1923. [Article repr. from *Russian Information and Review*, 27 Oct. 1923.]

COATES, W. P. *The Present Position of Anglo-Russian Relations.* Preface by H. N. Brailsford. 24 pp. ARPC, 1923. [Selection of statements on the points at issue (Nov. 1923).]

„ *Export Credit Schemes and Anglo-Russian Trade.* Preface by A. Ponsonby. 11 pp. HOR, 1923. [Comments on the existing situation and plea for extension of credits (Nov. 1923).]

Russian Trade and British Markets. 10 pp. HOR, 1923. [Article (repr. from *Russian Information and Review*, 24. xi. 1923) on trade possibilities.]

COATES, W. P. *Why Russia should be recognized.* Preface by R. C. Trevelyan. 27 pp. HOR, 1924. [Pamphlet advocating recognition (Jan. 1924).]

PURCELL, A. A., and MOREL, E. D. *The Workers and the Anglo-Russian Treaty. Why the Treaty must be ratified.* 8 pp.

- ARPC, 1924. [Pamphlet advocating ratification of the Draft Treaty.]
- COATES, W. P. *The Anglo-Russian Treaties*. Preface by R. C. Wallhead. 24 pp. ARPC, 1924. [Analyses of the treaties signed on 8 Aug., and appeal for their ratification.]
- A Sham Treaty*. 15 pp. Liberal Publication Dept., 1924. [Liberal pamphlet attacking the proposed Treaty.]
- The Anglo-Soviet Treaties*. Introduction by A. Ponsonby. ('Can Labour Rule?', No. 6.) 10 pp. Labour Publ. Dept., 1924. [Defence of the Treaties, particularly against the criticisms advanced in *A Sham Treaty*.]
- LESSING, E. A. *Soviet Treaties. An examination of the General Treaty*. 31 pp. Political Publicity Services, 1924. [Attack on the Treaty from the Conservative standpoint.]
- Why a Treaty with Soviet Russia?* (Labour White Papers, No. 4.) 11 pp. LRD, 1924. [Labour election pamphlet (Oct. 1924).]
- Fighting Notes against the Bolshevik Treaties*. 84 pp. Waterlow, 1924. [Conservative election pamphlet, attacking the Treaties as undesirable and worthless.]
- The Russian Loan means British Work. Official Particulars from the Soviet Embassy*. 8 pp. ILP, 1924. [Correspondence between the I.L.P. and the Soviet Embassy (winter 1924).]
- PURCELL, A. A. *Anglo-Russian Trade. How it could be immediately increased by the Overseas Trade Acts and Trade Facilities Acts*. Preface by F. Bramley. 20 pp. ARPC, 1925. [Pamphlet advocating trading credits (Feb. 1925).]
- Arcos Ltd. A Review of its Activities and of Soviet-British Trade, June 1920 to March 1925*. 24 pp. 'Russian Review of Foreign Trade and Markets', 1925. [Account of Arcos Ltd. and its operations.]
- Possibilities of British-Russian Trade. An Investigation by British M.P.s*. [By W. P. Coates and others.] 115 pp. ARPC, 1926. [Full and detailed study, partly based on material collected on a visit to Russia in Sept.-Oct. 1925.]
- Russian Trade with Great Britain and the United States*. 5 pp. ARPC, 1927. [Notes on Anglo-Soviet trade for Labour speakers (Feb. 1927).]

- China, Russia and Great Britain.* 11 pp. ARPC, 1927. [The possibilities of an Anglo-Soviet rupture over events in China (Feb. 1927).]
- The Raid on Arcos Ltd. and the Trade Delegation of the USSR. Facts and Documents.* 50 pp. ARPC, 1927. [Correspondence and other documents connected with the 'Arcos raid'.]
- The Rupture with Russia. Immediate Consequences and Ultimate Dangers.* 16 pp. ARPC, 1927. [Notes on the rupture for Labour speakers (July 1927).]
- British Trade and the Arcos Raid.* 16 pp. LRD, 1927. [Examination of the effects of the raid.]
- Anglo-Soviet Trade, 1920-1927. Its extent and prospects of development before the severance of relations between Great Britain and the USSR.* 44 pp. 'Trade and Engineering Review', 1927. [Useful summary of the facts of Anglo-Soviet trade.]
- Our Reply to Lord Birkenhead.* 12 pp. ARPC, 1927. [Reply (mainly on trading questions) to allegations made in a speech on 7 July 1927.]
- COATES, W. P. *Why Anglo-Russian Diplomatic Relations should be restored.* Preface by Ben Tillett. 78 pp. ARPC, 1928. [Arguments in favour of restored relations, with some interesting comments on the attitude of the Foreign Office and the Press.]
- „ *The Tories and Russian Trade.* Foreword by E. F. Wise. 24 pp. ILP, 1929. [Criticism of the policy of the Government as hampering trade with Russia.]
- SCURR, J. *Unemployment, Engineering and the Russian Market.* Preface by A. B. Swales. 29 pp. Privately pr., 1930. [Statistics on international trade, showing the possibilities of greater trade with the USSR.]
- Russia's Debts. The Case of British Holders of Russian Bonds.* [By E. LUBOFF.] 32 pp. British Union of Russian Bondholders, 1930. [General estimate of Tsarist debts and Russia's ability to pay.]
- Anglo-Soviet Trade: some fictions and the facts.* 12 pp. Soc. for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda, 1931. [Generalities, advocating more trade with Russia.]

- COATES, W. P. *Is Soviet Trade a Menace?* Preface by Ben Tillett. 117 pp. ARPC, 1931. [General discussion of trade position, particularly with regard to Soviet wheat, oil and timber exports.]
- BROMLEY, J., and COATES, W. P. *The Ottawa Conference and Anglo-Soviet Trade.* Preface by G. Lansbury. 47 pp. ARPC, 1932. [Attack on the Ottawa agreements, with much interesting information about Russian trade.]

d. THE FAR EAST

See also the subsections on 'Asiatic Russia', 'Outer Mongolia', and 'Eastern Siberia' in V. 6, the sub-section on 'Communist China' in III. 5. d and (on the period 1917-22) II. 4. h. The articles in the American periodical *Pacific Affairs* on the Soviet position in the Far East are as a rule exceptionally well-informed and of great value. One may also mention the reports on the Far East, by E. VARGA and others, in *Imprecorr.*

The following works are arranged roughly in chronological order.

- GOLOVIN, GEN. N. (in collaboration with Admiral A. D. BUBNOV). *The Problem of the Pacific in the 20th Century.* Transl. C. Nabokoff. Introd. by H. Williams. 256 pp. Gyldendal, 1922. [A study of the Pacific situation by a former Tsarist General; inadequate on Russia's part in it. (The author regarded the Bolshevik regime as a transitory phenomenon.)]
- PASVOLSKY, L. *Russia in the Far East.* 181 pp. MM, NY, 1922. [Study of pre-revolutionary Russian policy in the Far East and the history of the Far Eastern Republic.]
- HALL, H. *War in the Far East. The Threat to the Soviet Union in Manchuria.* 81 pp. MB (US pr.), 1930. [Communist pamphlet on the general position in Manchuria.]
- SOKOLSKY, G. E. *The Tinder Box of Asia.* 376 pp. AU, 1932. [An exceptionally valuable study of the relations of China with the Great Powers, by an American journalist who had worked in Russia and China. Deals both with the formal history of Sino-Soviet relations and with Communism in China. Excellent bibl.]

- ETHERTON, P. T., and TILTMAN, H. H. *Manchuria : the Cockpit of Asia*. 256 pp. J, 1932. [A popular study, including useful sections on Russia's position in Manchuria and Communist activities in China. (See also other books by these two authors, though none of them contains any very full account of the Soviet position in the Far East.)]
- YAKHONTOFF, V. A. *Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East*. 454 pp. AU, 1932. [A survey of Russia's position in the Far East from the 17th century to 1930. Very full bibl.]
- DASHINSKY, S. *Japan in Manchuria*. Ed. N. Fokin. 47 pp. MB, 1932. [General study of Japanese aggression in China, and how it affects Soviet Russia.]
- POLLARD, R. T. *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931*. 416 pp. MM, NY, 1933. [The standard work on the subject, containing several good chapters on Chinese relations with the Whites and with the Soviet Government.]
- Japan threatens the Soviet Union*. 16 pp. British Anti-War Movement, 1934. [Pamphlet on Japanese policy in Asia and the attitude of the Capitalist West.]
- MOGI, S., and REDMAN, H. V. *The Problem of the Far East*. 348 pp. G, 1935. [Mainly concerned with China and Japan, but includes a little about Soviet relations with both countries. Brief bibl.]
- T. H. WINTRINGHAM's book, *The Coming World War* (257 pp. W, 1935), includes a discussion of a possible Russo-Japanese campaign, and there is an extremely well-informed estimate, based largely on the Japanese and Russian press, of Japan's chances in a war with Russia in O. TANIN and E. YOHAN, *When Japan goes to War* (271 pp. L [US pr.], 1936).
- STERN, G. *Far East in Ferment*. 244 pp. M, 1936. [Includes a good estimate of Russia's strength in the Far East by a journalist who had visited Russia.]
- BIENSTOCK, G. *The Struggle for the Pacific*. 299 pp. AU, 1937. [The most authoritative study of international relations in the northern Pacific ; the sections dealing with the Soviet position and Russian relations with Japan are based largely on Russian materials.]

- GREENWALL, H. J. *Pacific Scene*. 301 pp. NW, 1938. [A popular study by a British correspondent, containing much information (from private sources) about Soviet economic and military power in the Far East.]
- CHAMBERLIN, W. H. *Japan over Asia*. 328 pp. D, 1938. [Includes a brief chapter on Japanese relations with Russia.]
- China in World Affairs*. [By P. J. NOEL BAKER and others.] 30 pp. China Campaign Committee, 1939. [Speeches at a Conference in London on March 10-11, 1939, including one by A. Rothstein on the USSR and China.]

e. THE OCCUPATION OF EASTERN POLAND, 1939

- The Polish White Book. Official Documents concerning Polish-German and Polish-Soviet Relations, 1933-1939*. Republic of Poland, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 222 pp. HN, 1940. [The documents are arranged in two sections, each in chronological order; the Polish-Soviet series runs from the Treaty of Riga (18 March 1921) to the final report by the former Polish ambassador in Moscow to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (6 Nov. 1939).]
- COATES, W. P. *The USSR and Poland. The Sober Facts of the Situation*. 32 pp. The Author [ARPC], 1939. [Comments on the invasion and its political results, from the pro-Soviet standpoint.]

The actual occupation is scarcely dealt with in any of the current histories of the war, and the details, in so far as they are known, must be followed in the contemporary press; a useful guide will be found in the current numbers of the *Bulletin of International News* (Royal Institute of International Affairs). Among the eye-witness accounts, the following—all very hostile to the Russians—cover the Russian as well as the German invasion:

- DRAGOMIR, U. *It started in Poland*. 249 pp. F, 1941.
- My name is Million. The experiences of an Englishwoman in Poland*. [By O. Olbromska.] 284 pp. F, 1940.
- POLONIUS, A. *I saw the siege of Warsaw*. 364 pp. Ho, 1940.
- WEGIERSKI, D. *September 1939*. 180 pp. Minerva Publ. Co., 1940.

Very little information is available about conditions in Soviet Poland in 1939-41, but something can be found in the *Polish Press Bulletin*, published by the Polish Ministry of Information in London, in a book and a pamphlet by G. M. GODDEN, *Poland: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Foreword by Cardinal Hinsley. 130 pp. BO, 1940), and *The Soviets 'liberate' Poland* (8 pp. CTS, 1939), and in *The Soviet Occupation of Poland* (Introductory note by J. B. Morton. 'Free Europe' Pamphlet, No. 3. 35 pp. 'Free Europe', 1940). These sources are of course highly prejudiced. The issue of *USSR in Construction* for Feb.-March 1940 is devoted to the occupation, from the Soviet standpoint. There is also a little in B. NEWMAN, *The Story of Poland* (288 pp. HN, 1940), and in C. HOLLINGWORTH, *The Three Weeks' War in Poland* (180 pp. D, 1940). For a useful but not unprejudiced survey of the position of Eastern Poland before the Soviet occupation one may consult *Eastern Poland* (53 pp. Polish Research Centre, 1942).

f. THE FINNISH WAR, 1939-40.

The chief documents covering the preliminaries of the war will be found in:

The Development of Finnish-Soviet Relations during the Autumn of 1939, including the Official Documents. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland. 114 pp. HA, 1940. [Treaties, notes, &c., from the Treaty of Non-Aggression of 21 Jan. 1932 to a note of 15 Dec. 1939. Brief introd. Good map.]

Many of the same documents, together with some others, will be found in three papers issued by the League of Nations (Series of League of Nations Publications: VII. Political. 1939. VII, 1-3), and dated 9, 10 and 18 Dec. 1939: *Appeal by the Finnish Government* (7 pp.); *Supplementary Documentation* (16 pp.); *Report of the Assembly* (11 pp.).

The following are eye-witness accounts, and all reflect the Finnish point of view.

ELLISTON, H. B. *Finland Fights*. 394 pp. HA, 1940. [Covers only the first ten days of the war, with an account

of its origins. (Documents in appendix.) By an American reporter.]

WARD, E. *Despatches from Finland, January–April 1940*. 160 pp. LA, 1940. [Broadcasts by the B.B.C. observer, 7 Jan.–17 March 1940.]

CITRINE, SIR W. *My Finnish Diary*. 192 pp. PB, 1940. [Diary of a visit to Finland, 23 Jan.–8 Feb., on behalf of the British Trades' Union Council.]

COX, G. *The Red Army Moves*. 278 pp. G, 1941. [General account of the author's experiences, and estimates of Russian military power and effectiveness.]

LANGDON-DAVIES, J. *Finland: the First Total War*. 202 pp. R, 1940. [Mainly a review of the actual methods of fighting and the lessons to be learned from them; many photos, illustrations from captured Soviet military manuals, &c.]

See also V. COWLES, *Looking for Trouble* (1941).

For the actual details of the course of the war, it is necessary to resort to the *Bulletin of International News*, Nov. 1939–March 1940. The reports in the contemporary press are extremely misleading, and the accounts in the various general histories of the War—‘STRATEGICUS’, *The War for World Power* (304 pp. F, 1940); Vol. II of SIR R. STORRS, *A Record of the War. The Second Quarter, Dec. 1939–Feb. 1940* (314 pp. HN, 1940); *The Second Great War. A Standard History* (Ed. Sir J. Hammerton. Nos. 11 and 12, March 11 and 25. Amal. Press, 1940)—are all inadequate. The shortcomings of the press are the chief topic of W. P. and Z. K. Coates, *The Soviet-Finnish Campaign, 1939–1940* (Foreword by F. Owen. 172 pp. Eldon Press, 1942).

The following books and pamphlets are also relevant:

Finland, The Facts. 16 pp. RTS, 1939. [Pamphlet justifying the invasion (Dec. 1939).]

BURNS, E. *The Soviet Union and Finland*. (War Library, No. 8.) 16 pp. CP, 1940. [Pamphlet attacking Finland and projects for Allied intervention (Jan. 1940).]

Statement concerning Finnish-Russian relations, and the circumstances leading to the invasion of Finland by the USSR on Nov. 30, 1939. 19 pp. Simpkin Marshall, 1940. [Statement of official Finnish standpoint.]

Finland: the Criminal Conspiracy of Stalin and Hitler. 27 pp. LP, 1940. [Labour pamphlet (Feb. 1940) attacking the Soviet Govt.]

HOOPER, MAJOR A. S. *The Soviet-Finnish Campaign.* 24 pp. Privately pr., 1940. [Pamphlet discussing the campaign and praising the technical achievements and strategy of the Soviet High Command.]

The Soviet Union, Finland and the Baltic States. 32 pp. Soviet War News (for the Soviet Information Bureau), 1941. [Sketch of Russian relations with Finland and the Baltic States from 1917 to 1940, from the Soviet standpoint.]

COATES' *Russia, Finland and the Baltic* covers the previous negotiations and opening stages of the campaign from the Soviet point of view; the 2nd edn. (1940) of J. H. JACKSON'S *Finland* does the same, much more briefly, from the Finnish standpoint. S. DE ULLMANN, *The Epic of the Finnish Nation* (128 pp. Pilot Press, 1940), is Finnish propaganda of a general kind, and gives no details of any value about the war.

On the fate of the Baltic States one may mention the following:

COATES, W. P. and Z. K. *Russia, Finland and the Baltic.* 144 pp. LW, 1940. [Brief sketch of relations from 1917 onwards, with fuller account of the pacts of 1939 (texts given) and the Finnish war up to Feb. 1940. From the Soviet point of view.]

STRONG, A. L. *Lithuania's New Way.* 76 pp. LW, 1941. [Eye-witness sketches of the events of June-July 1940 resulting in the incorporation of Lithuania in the Soviet Union. From the Soviet point of view.]

Some account of conditions in Lithuania in the early days of the Soviet occupation, and of the author's journey across Russia to Vladivostok in 1940, will be found in H. F. ANDERSON, *Borderline Russia* (238 pp. Cresset Press, 1942; it also con-

tains his impressions of Russia in 1929-32). J. HAMPDEN JACKSON's *Estonia* (248 pp. AU, 1941) covers the history of this country up to its incorporation in the Soviet Union in Aug. 1940 from the Estonian point of view, while his pamphlet *The Baltic* (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 27. 32 pp. OUP, 1941) does the same, very briefly, for all the Baltic States.

g. MISCELLANEOUS BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ANDREWS, R. F. *Soviet Peace Policy—a Barrier to War*. 12 pp. MB, 1935. [Soviet policy at Geneva and elsewhere against aggression.]

Britain, Russia and the Future. ('Peace Aims Pamphlet', No. 12.) 62 pp. National Peace Council, 1942. [Addresses given at a Conference in April 1942.]

CHARQUES, R. D. *The Soviets and the Next War. The Present Case for Disarmament*. 95 pp. Secker, 1932. [Pamphlet discussing the Soviet fear of attack and its justification, and the possibility of a disarmament agreement (Jan. 1932).]

COLE, G. D. H. *Europe, Russia and the Future*. 186 pp. G, 1941. [A general excursion into European problems, without much specific reference to Russia.]

Peace Indivisible. 32 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Speeches delivered at a dinner given in London on 15 May 1936 to M. and Mme Maisky.]

PRICE, M. P. *Hitler's War and Eastern Europe*. 160 pp. AU, 1940. [Sketch of Germany's eastern policy and Russia's reactions in the late 'thirties.]

PRITT, D. N. *The USSR our Ally*. 64 pp. ML, 1941. [General discussion of Soviet foreign policy, and of Soviet relations with Britain.]

RAKOVSKY, C. G. *Roumania and Bessarabia*. 64 pp. W. P. Coates (ARPC), 1925. [General study of the Bessarabian question from the Soviet standpoint.]

Russia and the Crisis. 15 pp. RTS, 1938. [Pamphlet attacking the Western Powers and justifying Russia's conduct in the Munich Crisis. (Supplement to *Russia Today*, Oct. 1938.)]

SLOAN, P. *Russia—Friend or Foe*. 200 pp. ML, 1939. [Advocates and explains the need for an Anglo-Soviet alliance.]

The USSR and Peace. 29 pp. ARPC, 1935. [Sketch of Soviet policy since 1922.]

USSR and World Peace. 24 pp. ARPC (and London Trades Council), 1937. [Speeches made at a dinner celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Revolution.]

War on the USSR? 16 pp. University Labour Federation (for Cambridge University Socialist Club), 1940. [Attack on 'aid for Finland', with copious references to intervention in 1918–22.]

ZOLTOWSKI, A. *Germany, Russia and Central Europe*. ('Free Europe' Pamphlet, No. 4.) 32 pp. 'Free Europe', 1942. [Discusses Russia's part in post-war Eastern Europe.]

7. THE RED ARMY

a. GENERAL WORKS

Very little trustworthy information has been made available in the past about the strength and character of the fighting forces of the Soviet Union; this is only too evident when one consults such standard works as the *Military Year Book of the League of Nations* or JANE'S *Fighting Ships of the World*. The conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Pact in 1935 led to the appearance of a number of useful works in French, some of them translated from the Russian, dealing with Marshal Tukhachevsky and the Red Army in general, but since these were not published in this country, and are in any case now obsolete, they need not be referred to here. The following list includes those books and pamphlets which have been published or are easily available in England. They are arranged according to the year of publication.

WHITE, J. B. *Red Russia Arms*. 144 pp. Burrup, Mathieson, 1932. [General sketch of Soviet military preparedness, based mainly on the Russian (non-technical) press. Now out of date.]

- MELVILLE, C. F. *The Russian Face of Germany. An account of the secret military relations between the German and Soviet-Russian Governments.* 230 pp. W, 1932. [A journalist's account of the relations between the Reichswehr and the Red Army, including a translation of a pamphlet issued on the subject by the German Social-Democratic Party. Uncritical, but contains some useful material.]
- The Red Army.* 14 pp. Workers' Bookshop, 1934. [Eulogistic pamphlet.]
- JUST, A. W. *The Red Army.* Put into English by W. M. Potter. 123 pp. Figurehead, 1936. [An interesting and intelligent account by a German journalist who had worked for several years in Russia. Rather too general and lacking in precise details.]
- 'HENRI, E.' *Hitler over Russia? The coming fight between the Fascist and Socialist armies.* Transl. M. Davidson. 340 pp. DT, 1936. [Speculations on Hitler's war policy, the alignment of forces in Eastern Europe, and the strength of Russian resistance. (? By a Soviet journalist in Western Europe.) (There is only a little about Russia in the same author's *Hitler over Europe?* Transl. M. Davidson. 307 pp. DT, 1934. 2nd edn., with preface by D. N. Pritt and epilogue by the author. 323 pp. DT, 1939.)]
- WOLLENBERG, E. *The Red Army. A Study of the Growth of Soviet Imperialism.* Transl. from the German by C. W. Sykes. 283 pp. SW, 1938. 2nd edn. 401 pp. SW, 1940. [A hostile and critical but extremely well-informed history of the Red Army from 1917 onwards, with an account of its structure and an assessment of its fighting power. Good short bibl., mainly of Russian works. (The 2nd edn. was completed during the Russo-Finnish War; the two last chapters have been rewritten and further chapters added.)]
- The Red Army Today. Speeches delivered at the 18th Congress of the CPSU (B), March 10-21, 1939.* 75 pp. FLPH, Moscow, 1939. [Speeches by Voroshilov and others.]
- The Soviets' Fighting Forces.* Compiled by A. Greenwood. 24 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Mainly extracts from speeches at the

18th Party Congress and from the writings of German and other observers testifying to Soviet military strength.]

- ‘WERNER, MAX.’ *The Military Strength of the Powers*. Transl. E. Fitzgerald. 376 pp. G, 1939. [Contains a very important and valuable study of the Red Army, its training, strategy, &c., based mainly on the technical military press of Russia and Germany. Inclined rather to over-estimate than to under-estimate its strength. (Completed Dec. 1938.)]

„ *Battle for the World. The Strategy and Diplomacy of the Second World War*. Transl. H. and R. Norden. 288 pp. G, 1941. [Brings his earlier work up to date (March 1941, with short epilogue on the events of April and May), and includes an excellent chapter on the position of the Soviet Union.]

- MONTAGU, I. *The Red Army. Fifty Questions Answered*. 24 pp. RTS, 1941. [Brief pamphlet on Soviet military forces, produced just after the outbreak of war. (Based mainly on Werner and Cox.)]

- HOOPER, MAJ. A. S. *The Soviet Fighting Forces*. 64 pp. ML, 1941. [Brief sketch of their history and present position (Oct. 1941.) Mainly based on Werner.]

- STROUD, J. *USSR Air Fleet*. Large folder. A. T. C. Gazette, 1941. [Drawings of various types of aircraft and such specifications as were available.]

- COATES, W. P. and Z. K. *Why Russia will win. The Soviet Military, Naval and Air Power*. Foreword by A. J. Cummings. 104 pp. Eldon, 1942. [The organisation and character of the Red Army, and the spirit behind it.]

See also the books on the Russo-Finnish War in III. 6. f, particularly those by Cox and Langdon-Davies.

These are three biographies of Voroshilov, and one of Timoshenko :

- WHEATLEY, D. *Red Eagle. The Story of the Russian Revolution and of Klementy Efremovitch Voroshilov, Marshal and Commissar for Defence of the USSR*. 390 pp. HN, 1937. [Mainly a life of Voroshilov, with long digressions on the Revolution and the state of Russia twenty years later,

and speculations about the Great Purge. By a popular novelist who had the necessary material translated for him and has used it rather uncritically.]

TREASE, G. *Clem Voroshilov, the Red Marshal*. ('How they did it' Series.) 92 pp. PP, 1939. Repr. in *Leaders of the USSR*. PP, 1941. [Popular biography, with a violently anti-Trotskyist bias.]

MONTAGU, I. *Soviet Leaders: Voroshilov*. 16 pp. CP, 1942. [Brief popular sketch, by an English Communist.]

„ *Soviet Leaders: Timoshenko*. 15 pp. CP, 1942. [A companion volume to the preceding one.]

b. THE RUSSO-GERMAN WAR

The opening phases of the campaign in Russia are best followed in the various general histories of the war, the best of which is 'STRATEGICUS', *From Tobruk to Smolensk* (308 pp. F, 1941) and *The War Moves East* (234 pp. F, 1942). Only the first few days of it are covered by P. P. GRAVES, *The Seventh Quarter, April 1st-June 30th, 1941* (272 pp. HN, 1942), but later volumes of this work should be useful. *The Second Great War: a Standard History* (ed. Sir J. Hammerton; appears fortnightly; Amalgamated Press) and HUTCHINSON'S *History of the War* (ed. W. Hutchinson; weekly; HN) are popular illustrated periodicals of some general value. The details, in so far as they are available, are recorded in the fortnightly *Bulletin of International News*, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

On the actual fighting, there are the following books and pamphlets:

Strategy and Tactics of the Soviet-German War. By Officers of the Red Army and Soviet War Correspondents. 148 pp. HN (for *Soviet War News*), 1942. [Short articles repr. from *Soviet War News*, and classified according to subject.]

POLYAKOV, A. *With a Soviet Unit through the Nazi Lines*. 40 pp. HN (for *Soviet War News*), 1941. [Diary of a war correspondent (from 22 June to 22 July) with a unit which was cut off and finally broke through the German lines to rejoin the Soviet forces.]

Battle of Giants. *Eye-witnesses' Stories from the Russian Front.* 61 pp. Herbert Barber, 1941. [Extracts from *Soviet War News*, covering the first 6 weeks of the war.]

We are Guerillas. *An account of the work of Soviet guerillas behind the Nazi lines.* 64 pp. HN (for *Soviet War News*), 1942. [General account of guerrilla warfare, with extracts from specific accounts in *Soviet War News*.]

REDMOND, P. *Scorch the Earth.* Foreword by W. Gallacher. 24 pp. CP, 1941. [Pamphlet on Soviet guerrillas.]

DEMIANOVA, G. *Comrade Genia. The story of a victim of German bestiality in Russia, told by herself.* Preface by R. Scarfe. 141 pp. NW, 1941. [The behaviour of Germans in a Russian village, as told by the village school-mistress before her death.]

The Press Dept. of the Soviet Embassy in London began to publish a daily news-sheet, *Soviet War News*. (generally 4 pp.) on 11 July 1941, and a weekly illustrated paper, *Soviet War News Weekly* (8 pp.), on 22 Jan. 1942. The actual texts of the Soviet (and German) daily communiqués are most conveniently referred to in the *Manchester Guardian*.

The following official documents have been published:

The German Attack on the USSR. *Speeches by MM. Molotov, Stalin and Litvinov.* Foreword by N. Maclean. 12 pp. ARPC, 1941. [Three speeches over the wireless by Molotov (22 June), Stalin (3 July), and Litvinov (8 July).]

[*Stalin says . . .*] **Stalin Speaks!** Preface by N. Maclean. 32 pp. ARPC, 1941. [Speeches of 3 July and 6 and 7 Nov. 1941.]

Stalin Speaks. 31 pp. CP, 1941. [The same, together with the CP slogans for 7 Nov. 1941.]

The Molotov Notes on German Atrocities. 20 pp. SO (on behalf of the Soviet Embassy), 1942. [Notes detailing atrocities against prisoners of war (27 Nov. 1941) and the civil population (6 Jan. 1942).]

The Third Molotov Note on German Atrocities. 26 pp. SO (on behalf of the Soviet Embassy), 1942. [Note of 27 April, 1942.]

The Anglo-Soviet Agreement of 12 July 1941 was published by the Stationery Office as Cmd. 6304 (1941), and the Treaty of 26 May 1942 as Cmd. 6368 (1942).

The following books and pamphlets are also concerned with the war :

MACALPIN, M. *Russia Fights*. 72 pp. LW, 1941. [General account of the character of the war, and appeal for more aid to the Soviet Union.]

SLOAN, P. *Russia's Fight is Our Fight!* 16 pp. RTS, 1941. [Appeal for all aid to Russia, and attack on Right-Wing politicians.]

„ *Russia Resists*. 117 pp. ML, 1941. [A good short sketch of Russia's military power, and her achievements against the Germans in the first months of the war.]

TREVELYAN, SIR C. *Why Russia will win*. 15 pp. RTS, 1941. [Brief sketch of Soviet social structure as the basis for Russian hopes.]

Us and USSR. 15 pp. Executive Committee of the Birmingham Committee for Anglo-Soviet Unity, 1941. [Extracts from *Soviet War News* about the war, and suggestions for action in Britain to promote the war effort.]

Jews against Hitler. 23 pp. ARPC, 1941. [Appeal of the International Conference of Jews held at Moscow on 24 Aug. 1941, with extracts from speeches delivered at it.]

Women against Hitler. 30 pp. 'Soviet War News', 1941. [Speeches at a mass meeting at Moscow, 7 Sept. 1941.]

Youth against Hitler. 24 pp. ARPC, 1941. [Appeal of a Youth Conference held at Moscow on 28 Sept. 1941, with extracts from speeches delivered at it.]

In Defence of Civilization against Fascist Barbarism. 102 pp. Voks, Moscow, 1941. [Statements, letters, and telegrams by prominent people in the USSR and other countries supporting the Soviet Union in the war.]

DUTT, R. P., and MONTAGU, I. *Ruby Star*. 16 pp. Labour Monthly, 1941. [Reprint of two articles on Soviet achievements published in the *Labour Monthly* (Nov. 1941).]

- Spirit of the Soviet Union. Anti-Nazi Cartoons and Posters.* Foreword by Lord Beaverbrook. 48 pp. PP and NW, 1942. [Collection of anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist cartoons of the late 'thirties and the early days of the war.]
- TORR, D. *Marxism and War.* 80 pp. LW (for Marx House), 1942. [Marxist interpretation of Soviet foreign policy and the War.]
- GALLACHER, W. *The Russian Glory.* 16 pp. CP, 1942. [Russia's military achievements.]
- Alliance for Victory.* 24 pp. National Council for British-Soviet Unity, 1942. [Articles by various writers in commemoration of the first anniversary of the British-Soviet Alliance.]
- Russia at War.* Described by E. CALDWELL. 78 Photographs by MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE. 80 pp. [A collection of superb photographs, with a general commentary by an American journalist.]
- ZACHAROFF, L. "*We made a mistake . . .*" *Hitler. Russia's Amazing Defence.* 156 pp. LA, 1942. [General study, by a Ukrainian, of Soviet military preparedness.]

See also M. HINDUS, *Russia Fights On*, on the spirit of the Soviet resistance, and the accounts of various visitors to the Soviet Union in the late summer and autumn of 1941 (III. 1. e) for life behind the lines and a visit to the battlefields.

8. LENIN

a. BIOGRAPHIES

The arrangement is in chronological order of publication.

- FÜLÖP-MILLER, R. *Lenin and Gandhi.* 343 pp. P, 1927. [A clever journalistic study, with translations of some of Lenin's letters. Brief bibl.]
- MARCU, V. *Lenin.* Transl. from the German by E. W. Dickes. 419 pp. G, 1928. [Journalistic interpretation; useful at the time as a clever portrait.]

- VERNADSKY, G. *Lenin, Red Dictator*. 351 pp. Yale University Press, 1931. [Competent, matter-of-fact, and hostile biography by a Russian-American historian.]
- MIRSKY, D. S. *Lenin*. ('Makers of the Modern Age' Series.) 226 pp. Holme Press, 1931, &c. [Brief scholarly biography—the best one in English. Excellent bibl., now rather out of date.]
- VEALE, F. J. P. *The Man from the Volga. A Life of Lenin*. With an introduction by E. B. Osborn. 288 pp. C, 1932. [Hostile biography with no pretensions to research.]
- MAXTON, J. *Lenin*. 183 pp. PD, 1932. [Brief popular biography from the Left-Wing standpoint.]
- FOX, R. *Lenin. A Biography*. 320 pp. G, 1933. [Adequate popular biography from the Communist point of view; particularly good on the personal side of Lenin's life. (No notes or references.)]
- DUTT, R. P. *Lenin*. ('Makers of the New World' Series.) 96 pp. HH, 1933. [Short popular biography by a British Communist. Brief bibl. of books and pamphlets in English.]
- KERZHENTSEV, P. *Life of Lenin*. 336 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1937. [Badly written but fairly informative biography, with a strong anti-Trotskyist bias.]
- HOLLIS, C. *Lenin. Portrait of a Professional Revolutionary*. 285 pp. LN, 1938, 1940. [Unfriendly and rather superficial.]

There is a useful short biography by G. Sorin in the first volume of LENIN'S *Selected Works*, and brief but interesting sketches in P. H. BOX, *Three Master Builders, and Another: Studies in Modern Revolutionary and Liberal Statesmanship* (Introd. by E. Barker. 396 pp. J, 1925), and in E. LUDWIG, *Genius and Character* (330 pp. CA, 1927). See also a lecture on 'Lenin' delivered by M. H. Dobb before the School of Slavonic Studies on 22 May 1939, and printed in the *Slavonic Year Book* (= *Slavonic Review*, vol. xix), 1939-40, pp. 34-54. An interesting sketch and interpretation of Lenin's career up to 1917 will be found in E. WILSON, *To the Finland Station. A Study in the writing and acting of History* (509 pp.

SW, 1941). The article on 'Lenin' in the 14th edn. of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is by Trotsky.

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- Our Lenin.* Ed. by R. Shaw and H. A. Potamkin; pictures by W. Siegel. 62 pp. L (US pr.), 1934. [A life of Lenin for children, based on a Russian work of the same kind.]
- OSSENDOWSKI, F. *Lenin, God of the Godless.* Transl. from the Polish by G. Macdonald. 409 pp. C, 1931, &c. [A biographical and crudely sensational novel, whose contacts with historical fact are of the slightest.]

b. PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

- TROTSKY, L. *Lenin.* Authorised transl. 247 pp. HA, 1925. [Recollections of the periods during which they were in closest contact (1902-3, 1917-18), with an estimate of Lenin as a personality. Very valuable, though strongly coloured with the author's own views.]
- KRUPSKAYA, N. K. *Memories of Lenin.* Transl. E. Verney. 2 vols. 213, 243 pp. L, 1930, 1932. [By Lenin's widow. The first volume covers the period 1893-1907, the second 1907-17. Of the greatest value.]
- GORKY, M. *Days with Lenin.* 64 pp. L, 1932. [Sketches by a great novelist and close friend.]
- ZETKIN, C. *Reminiscences of Lenin.* 78 pp. MB, 1929. [By a German Communist who knew Lenin intimately; very important for his views on the position of women and similar questions.]
- ZINOVIEV, G. *Nicolai Lenin. His Life and Work.* 48 pp. BSP, 1920. [A biographical speech made before the Petrograd Soviet on 6 Sept. 1918.]
- Lenin in Action: the early days of the Soviet power. Personal reminiscences of Lenin of October, 1917, by J. Stalin and others.* 64 pp. L, 1934. [Eleven short articles by STALIN, RAKHVA, SOKHNIKOV, BUBNOV, &c.]
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- BUKHARIN, N. I. *Lenin as a Marxist.* (Lenin Library, 2.) 64 pp. CP, 1925. [Study of Lenin as a theoretician.]
- KRUPSKAYA, N. *How Lenin studied Marx.* (Labour Monthly Pamphlets, 2.) 12 pp. Labour Monthly, 1934. [Reprint

of an article in the *Labour Monthly*, xv, 1933, pp. 170-81.]

MANUILSKY, D. *Lenin and the International Labour Movement*. (International Pamphlets, No. 2.) 16 pp. CP, 1941. [Pamphlet justifying subsequent developments in the light of Lenin's views.]

For Lenin during the Revolution and in the years following, see particularly J. REED, *Ten Days that Shook the World*; J. SADOUL, *Notes sur la Révolution bolchéviste*; A. MORIZET, *Chez Lénine et Trotsky : Moscou 1921* (300 pp. Paris, 1922).

Lenin was extraordinarily accessible to visitors, and there are interesting interviews in H. G. WELLS, *Russia in the Shadows*, and in many others of the books in II. 2.

C. LETTERS AND SPEECHES

The Letters of Lenin. Transl. and ed. by E. Hill and D. Mudie. 495 pp. CH, 1937. [Valuable selection from the various Russian volumes of his correspondence; mainly pre-Revolutionary. (Since Lenin neither kept a diary nor wrote an autobiography, his letters are a most valuable personal record.) Useful notes and indices.]

Speeches of Lenin. With a critical introduction by A. Kurella. 94 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [A selection of 13 speeches delivered between 1917 and 1922.]

A small selection of letters is also translated in FÜLÖP-MILLER, *Lenin and Gandhi*. Many letters and speeches will be found also in the various volumes of his *Collected and Selected Works*.

D. COLLECTED WORKS

Only five volumes of the Russian edition of LENIN'S *Collected Works* have been translated into English, under the general editorship of A. Trachtenberg.

Vol. IV. (Books i and ii.) *The 'Iskra' Period, 1900-1902*. Transl. J. Fineberg. 386, 817 pp. L (US pr.), 1930.

- Vol. XIII. *Materialism and Empirico-Criticism. Critical Notes concerning a Reactionary Philosophy.* Transl. D. Kvitko. 342 pp. L (US pr.), 1927. New Transl. by A. Fineberg. 384 pp. LW (US pr.), 1938. [= *Sel. Works*, xi, 87–409. Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- Vol. XVIII. *The Imperialist War. The Struggle against Social-Chauvinism and Social-Pacifism, 1914–1915.* Transl. M. J. Olgin. 496 pp. L (US pr.), 1930.
- Vol. XX. (Books i and ii.) *The Revolution of 1917. From the March Revolution to the July Days.* 381, 428 pp. Transl. J. Kunitz and M. J. Olgin. L (US pr.), 1929.
- Vol. XXI. (Books i and ii.) *Towards the Seizure of Power. The Revolution of 1917: from the July Days to the October Revolution.* Transl. M. J. Olgin. 304, 350 pp. L (US pr.), 1933.

Failing a complete edition of Lenin's writings, the most useful edition in English is his *Selected Works*, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow and published by Lawrence & Wishart (USSR pr.) in 1936–9. Vols. 1–8 have very full explanatory notes.

1. *The Prerequisites of the First Russian Revolution (1894–1899).* 560 pp. 1936.
2. *The Struggle for the Bolshevik Party (1900–1904).* 568 pp. 1936.
3. *The Revolution of 1905–1907.* 630 pp. 1936.
4. *The Years of Reaction and of the New Revival (1908–1914).* 448 pp. 1936.
5. *Imperialism and Imperialist War (1914–1917).* 392 pp. 1936.
6. *From the Bourgeois Revolution to the Proletarian Revolution (1917).* 660 pp. 1936.
7. *After the Seizure of Power (1917–1918).* 520 pp. 1937.
8. *The Period of War Communism (1918–1920).* 460 pp. 1937.
9. *New Economic Policy. Socialist Construction.* 506 pp. 1937.
10. *The Communist International.* 333 pp. 1938.

11. *The Theoretical Principles of Marxism*. 763 pp. 1939.
12. *Theory of the Agrarian Question*. 335 pp. 1938.

Two smaller series of selections have also been published.

Selections from Lenin. L, 1929.

Vol. i. *The Fight for the Programme, Party Organisation, and Tactics*. 1893-1904. 241 pp.

Vol. ii. *The Fight for the Programme, Party Organisation, and Tactics*. 1904-1914. 398 pp.

Vols. iii [1914-1917] and iv [1917-1923] were never published. The two volumes contain selected passages from his writings, transl. by J. Fineberg, with notes by P. Pascal.

Readings in Leninism. LW (US pr.), 1937.

i. *What is Leninism?* 124 pp.

ii. *The Theory of Proletarian Revolution*. 155 pp.

iii. *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. 122 pp.

iv. *Strategy and Tactics*. 96 pp.

These are transl. from a Russian collection made by N. A. Buistryansky and M. Mishin (766 pp. Leningrad, 1933), and consist of extracts from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, &c.

An excellent selection of Lenin's works, mainly in the form of extracts, will also be found in *A Handbook of Marxism* (ed. E. Burns. 1088 pp. G, 1935), which consists of representative extracts from the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. With the exception of the short article entitled 'Our Programme' (written 1899; publ. 1925; Eng. transl. in *The Communist*, July 1928), all the extracts from Lenin's works published in the *Handbook* will be found either in his *Collected* or *Selected Works*, or are issued separately.

c. SMALL GROUPS OF WORKS, SEPARATE WORKS, AND EXTRACTS

The following list is arranged in alphabetical order according to the first principal word in the title.

The April Conference. (Little Lenin Library, 10.) 62 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [Lenin's speeches at the April Conference in 1917. Repr. from *Coll. Works*, xx, [i], 269-319.]

- (and CHICHERIN, G.) *Are you a Trade Unionist? An appeal to British workers.* 7 pp. PRIB, 1919. [Undated appeal signed by Lenin and Chicherin.]
- [*Lenin's thesis on*] *Bourgeois Democracy and Proletarian Dictatorship.* 28 pp. SLP (and WSF), Glasgow, 1920. [Thesis submitted to the First Congress of the Third International, 4 March 1919. (= *Sel. Works*, vii, 223-40.)]
- Lenin and Britain: his message to British Workers.* Compiled by A. Lepeshinsky. (Lenin Library, 1.) 86 pp. CP, 1925. [Short series of extracts from his writings dealing with Britain.]
- Lenin on Britain.* With an introd. by H. Pollitt. 316 pp. L, 1934. Repr. (Marxist-Leninist Library, 18), 1941. [Very full collection of articles and extracts, with useful notes.]
- The Chief Task of our Times, and The Political Forces and Currents facing the Russian Revolution.* 15 pp. SLP (and WSF), Glasgow, 1919. [Speech of 14 March 1918 on the ratification of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and a speech delivered at the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets on 29 May 1918.]
- The Collapse of the Second International.* 72 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1919. [Article written in summer 1915 (= *Sel. Works*, v, 167-221).]
- [*Lenin on*] *Co-operatives.* 23 pp. CP, 1925. [Extracts from various speeches, (1) to the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen in Sept. 1910, (2) to representatives of the Moscow Central Workers' Co-operative on 26 Nov. 1918, and (3) to the Second All-Russian Congress of Economic Councils on 19 Dec. 1918.]
- The Deception of the People by the slogans of equality and freedom.* (Little Lenin Library, 19.) 48 pp. LW, 1935, 1940. [Speech delivered 19 May 1919.]
- [*Lenin on*] *Democracy, the Trade Unions, and the murderers of K. Liebknecht and R. Luxemburg.* 20 pp. L, 1934. [Speech delivered at the Second All-Russian T.U. Congress, 20 Jan. 1919.]
- On the Eve of October.* (Little Lenin Library, 18.) 48 pp. L (US pr.), 1938. [Five short articles and letters of

Sept.-Nov. 1917 (repr. from *Coll. Works*, xx [i], 224-9, 271-8; [ii], 100-5, 111-28, 144-5). Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]

The Foundation of the Third Communist International. 31 pp. L, 1934. [Speeches at the First Congress, 2-6 March 1919.]

The Great Initiative, including the story of 'Communist Saturdays'. Transl. P. Lavrin. 29 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1920; another transl. (by Maxmilinsky), SIRB, Glasgow, 1920. [Article on the Subbótniki, publ. 28 June 1919 (= *Sel. Works*, ix, 423-445).]

[*Lenin on the*] *Historic Significance of the Third International.* 24 pp. L, 1934. [Contains (1) Speech on the Third International, recorded for the gramophone (March 1919); (2) 'The Third International and its Place in History' (*Sel. Works*, x, 29-37); (3) 'The Heroes of the Berne International' (article publ. 1 June 1919).]

Lenin on the I.L.P. Introd. by W. Rust. 55 pp. MB, 1934. [The correspondence between the I.L.P. and the Comintern in 1933, together with Lenin's 'Theses for an answer to the German "Independents" regarding their proposals for negotiations' (July 1920), his article on Ramsay Macdonald (14 July 1919), and other brief extracts from his works.]

Imperialism. The last [highest] stage of Capitalism. A popular outline. (Lenin Library, 4.) 159 pp. CP, 1924. New edn. 127 pp. L (US pr.), 1933, &c. [Study written in the spring of 1916 (= *Sel. Works*, v, 3-119). The full text is also printed in E. VARGA and L. MENDELSSOHN, *New Data for V. I. Lenin's 'Imperialism: the highest stage of Capitalism'* (1939). Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]

The Land Revolution in Russia. Being a Speech on the land question by Lenin in December 1918, together with the two fundamental Land Decrees of the Russian Soviet Republic. 32 pp. ILP, 1919. [The speech = *Sel. Works*, viii, 154-65; the decrees are those of 8 Nov. 1917 and 19 Feb. 1918.]

'*Left Wing*' *Communism: an infantile disorder.* 95 pp. CP, 1920. Revised transl. (Little Lenin Library, 16.)

- 95 pp. LW, 1934. [Written April–May 1920 (= *Sel. Works*, x, 55–158). Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- Lessons of the Russian Revolution.* (Intern. Soc. Library, 9.) 31 pp. BSP, 1918. [Pamphlet made up of articles written in July 1917 and publ. as a pamphlet on 19 Sept. 1917 (= *Sel. Works*, vi, 190–204), together with two articles here entitled ‘All power to the Soviets’ (27 Sept. ; = *Coll. Works*, xxi [i], 164–70) and ‘What are the Soviets?’]
- Letter to American Workers.* 22 pp. L, 1934. [Letter dated 20 Aug. 1918; new transl. by A. Trachtenberg.]
- Letters from Afar (including the letter to the Swiss Workers).* (Little Lenin Library, 8.) 48 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [Repr. from *Coll. Works*, xx [i], 27–63, 82–8; partly in *Sel. Works*, vi, 3–20; selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- Marx-Engels Marxism. A Collection of Articles.* English edn. by J. Fineberg. 226 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1934. Repr. (Marxist-Leninist Library, 10); LW, 1936. [A collection of brief articles, transl. from a Russian work of the same title (publ. Moscow, 1933).]
- Marxism.* 49 pp. MB, 1929. [Repr. from *Karl Marx: Man, Thinker and Revolutionist* (1927), which contains also another short article by him, ‘Hyndman on Marx’; = *Sel. Works*, xi, 9–41, but slightly abbreviated.]
- One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.* 288 pp. LW, 1941. [Book written Feb.–May 1904. First complete transl. into English (parts in *Sel. Works*, ii, 405–66).]
- Opportunism and Social-Chauvinism.* (Little Lenin Library, 22.) 46 pp. LW, 1940. Four articles of 1914–16 (= *Sel. Works*, xi, 748–63; *Coll. Works*, xviii, 162–7, 92–8, 377–84).]
- The Paris Commune.* (Little Lenin Library, 5.) 62 pp. L, 1931, &c. [A collection of brief articles and extracts from longer works dealing with the Commune. (Some of these, together with extracts from the writings of Marx and Engels, are also available in *Salute to the Paris Commune*. 16 pp. LW, 1941.)]

- Preparing for Revolt.* 289 pp. MB, 1929. [The same collection of articles as in *On the Road to Insurrection* (q.v.), with the addition of 'Will the Bolsheviks maintain power?', repr. from the 1922 edn.]
- The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the renegade.* 128 pp. BSP, 1920. New edn., 160 pp. MB, 1929. Revised edn., 110 pp. (Little Lenin Library, 18.) LW, 1935, 1940. [Pamphlet, written at the end of 1918, attacking Kautsky's book, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (q.v.); = *Sel. Works*, vii, 113-217. Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- [*Lenin on*] *Ramsay Macdonald.* 19 pp. MB, 1934. [Uncomplimentary extracts from his writings.]
- [*Lenin on*] *Religion.* (Little Lenin Library, 7.) 56 pp. L, 1932, &c. [A selection of letters and articles.]
- The Revolution of 1905.* (Little Lenin Library, 6.) 55 pp. L, 1931, 1937. [A selection of several articles published in 1905 and 1906, with a lecture delivered in Jan. 1917. The first article and the lecture are repr. in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- Revolutionary Lessons.* Including 'Towards Soviets', 'Lessons of the Russian Revolution', and 'Bourgeois Democracy'. 86 pp. MB, 1929. [A reprint of these three works (q.v.).]
- On the Road to Insurrection.* 131 pp. CP, 1926. [Selection from Lenin's writings of Sept.-Oct. 1917, partly reproduced from the *Labour Monthly*.]
- (and J. STALIN.) *The Russian Revolution. Writings and speeches from the February Revolution to the October Revolution, 1917.* 303 pp. LW, 1939. [Convenient chronological selection, mainly of Lenin's work, running from the 'April Theses' (17 April 1917) to the draft decree dissolving the Constituent Assembly (19 Jan. 1918). Some larger items—notably 'The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution' and 'Will the Bolsheviks maintain power?'—are omitted.]
- (and G. ZINOVIEV.) *Socialism and War.* (Little Lenin Library, 8.) 48 pp. L (US pr.), 1931, &c. [Essay written in Aug. 1915; repr. from *Coll. Works*, xviii,

- 214-58. Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935). (In the later reprints the name of Zinoviev is omitted from the title page.)
- The Soviets at Work. A discussion of the problems faced by the Soviet Government after the Revolution.* 46 pp. SIRB (also SLP), Glasgow, 1919. [The 'Programme Address before the Soviets, April 1918' (= *Sel. Works*, vii, 313-50), with part of his speech of 14 March 1918 on the ratification of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.]
- The State: a simple explanation of Government and the working-class.* 29 pp. L, 1934. [A lecture delivered at the Sverdlov University on 11 June 1919 (= *Sel. Works*, xi, 639-57).]
- The State and Revolution. Marxist teaching on the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution.* 123 pp. AU (also BSP and SLP), 1919. (Lenin Library, 3.) CP, 1926. Revised transl., 95 pp. (Little Lenin Library, 14.) L, 1933, &c. [Work written Aug.-Sept. 1917 (= *Sel. Works*, vii, 3-111). Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- [*Lenin and Stalin on*] *the State.* (Little Lenin Library, 23.) 48 pp. LW, 1941. [Contains *The State* and the first chapter of *The State and Revolution*, together with part of Stalin's speech to the 18th Congress of the CPSU (q.v.)]
- The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution.* (Little Lenin Library, 9.) 48 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [Three articles written in April 1917, and reprinted from *Coll. Works*, xx [i]; (1) 'The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution' (pp. 130-57); (2) the 'April Theses' (pp. 106-10); (3) the 'Letter on Tactics' (pp. 118-29). Also in *Sel. Works*, vii, 45-76, 21-6, 31-44; partly also in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- The Teachings of Karl Marx.* (Little Lenin Library, 1.) 47 pp. L (US pr.), 1931, &c. New and revised edn. 48 pp. LW, 1940. [An article written for the *Russian Encyclopedia* in 1914. The first transl. = *Coll. Works*, xviii, 13-58, the second = *Sel. Works*, xi, 9-41, but omits the bibl. and replaces it with an article, 'The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism' (= *Sel. Works*, xi, 3-8), written in March 1913.]

- The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Avoid it.* (Little Lenin Library, 11.) 64 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [Three articles written between May and Sept. 1917 (= *Coll. Works*, xxi [i], 177-218; xx [ii], 83-8; xxi [i], 230-43).]
- Towards Soviets. Theses and A Letter on Tactics.* (International Socialist Library, 14.) 19 pp. BSP (CP), 1919, &c. [The 'April Theses' (incomplete) and the 'Letter on Tactics' (= *Coll. Works*, xx [i], 106-9, 118-29).]
- Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.* (Little Lenin Library, 17.) 127 pp. LW, 1935, &c. [Written June/July 1905 (= *Sel. Works*, iii, 89-138).]
- The War and the Second International.* (Little Lenin Library, 2.) 63 pp. L (US pr.), 1931. [Contains (1) 'The Collapse of the Second International', repr. from *Coll. Works*, xviii, 273-322 (= *Sel. Works*, v, 167-221), written in the summer of 1915, and (2) 'The War and Russian Social Democracy', the official declaration of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, formulated in Oct. 1915.]
- War and the Workers. A Lecture and an Article.* (Little Lenin Library, 20.) 40 pp. LW, 1940. [Contains (1) 'A Lecture on War', delivered 27 May 1917 in Petrograd, but omitted in *Coll. Works*, and (2) 'Pacifism and the Workers', an article written in the autumn of 1916.]
- What is to be done? Burning questions of our Movement.* (Little Lenin Library, 4.) 176 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [Article published in March 1902. Repr. from *Coll. Works*, iv, 89-258. Selections in *A Handbook of Marxism* (1935).]
- What Lenin said about the Jews. Extracts from his writings.* Edited, with an Introduction, by R. F. Andrews. 16 pp. CP, 1933. [Miscellaneous extracts.]
- Will the Bolsheviks maintain power?* 122 pp. LPC, 1922. New transl. (Little Lenin Library, 12.) 48 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [Article written Oct. 7-14, 1917. The second transl. is reprinted from *Coll. Works*, xxi [ii], 18-56. Both editions contain also Lenin's letter of 25/27 Sept., 'The Bolsheviks must assume power' (*Ibid.*, xxi [i], 221-3).]
- [*Lenin on*] *Working Class Policy.* [Title on cover of the cheap edn. of his 'Left Wing Communism': an infantile disorder (q.v.).]

[*Lenin and Stalin on*] *Youth*. (Little Lenin Library, 21.) 48 pp. LW, 1940. [Contains six letters and articles and a speech by Lenin, only two of which are otherwise available in English (*Sel. Works*, v, 241-5; ix, 467-83).]

f. MISCELLANEOUS

FOX, R. *Marx, Engels, Lenin on the Irish Revolution*. 86 pp. MB, 1932. [A pamphlet referring to their views.]

MARX, K. *Critique of the Gotha Programme. With appendices by F. Engels and V. I. Lenin*. 119 pp. L, 1933. Revised edn. (Marxist-Leninist Library, 15.) 110 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1937. [Contains Lenin's comments on the work from his notebook 'Marxism and the State' (Jan.-Feb. 1917), and extracts from *The State and Revolution*.]

Various extracts from his speeches and writings will be found in *The Soviet Union and the Path to Peace* (1936).

His article 'What has the trial of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Fraction proved?' (29 March 1915; = *Coll. Works*, xviii, 151-6) is printed as an appendix in A. BADAYEV, *The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma* (1933).

His preface to the Russian translation of Marx's letters to Kugelmann (= *Sel. Works*, xi, 712-20) is available in K. MARX, *Letters to Dr Kugelmann* (148 pp. L [USSR pr.], 1934).

Lenin's so-called 'Testament' will be found in its complete form in L. TROTSKY, *The Real Situation in Russia* (q.v.), and also in *The Suppressed Testament of Lenin. The Complete Original Text, with two Explanatory Articles by L. Trotsky*. 47 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1935.

For the editions of the *Manifesto of the Communist International* (1919), which is signed by Lenin, see III. 5. b.

An index to works by and on Lenin in *The Labour Monthly* up to that date will be found in Vol. xv, 1933, pp. 335-6.

9. STALIN

a. BIOGRAPHIES

There is no satisfactory biography of Stalin. The official lives must be treated with considerable reserve, and the others,

though fuller and often more trustworthy on points of detail, are animated by a crescendo of hostility which reaches its height in those written after the great 'purges' of 1936-8.

The Life of Stalin: a symposium. (Stalin Pocket Series, 3.) 96 pp. MB, 1930; 2nd edn. 1931. [Very brief summary, with sections by L. Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Ordzhonikidze, and Yenukidze.]

BARBUSSE, H. *Stalin.* Transl. from the French by V. Holland. 324 pp. LA, 1935. [The best of the pro-Stalin biographies. By a great French novelist who became a Communist and made several visits to Russia.]

Joseph Stalin. A Short Biography. Prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. 96 pp. LW, 1940. [Brief official biography.]

YAROSLAVSKY, E. *Landmarks in the Life of Stalin.* 191 pp. LW, 1942. [Useful sketch of Stalin's career by a prominent Bolshevik.]

VOROSHILOV, K. E. *Stalin and the Red Army.* 62 pp. FLPH, Moscow, 1941. [Valuable study by one of Stalin's closest collaborators of his part in the Civil War.]

GRAHAM, S. *Stalin. An Impartial Study of the Life and Work of Joseph Stalin.* 148 pp. BN, 1931. 2nd ed. 159 pp. HN, 1939. [An unfriendly popular biography. (The 2nd edn. has been largely re-written and brought up to date.)]

LEVINE, I. D. *Stalin. A Biography.* 336 pp. CA, 1931. Cheap edn. ('Private Lives' Library.) 320 pp. NS, 1936. [The best of the early biographies, despite the hostility of the author, an able American journalist. (Excellent bibliography, largely of books in Russian.)]

ESSAD-BEY'. *Stalin. The Career of a Fanatic.* Transl. from the German by H. Paterson. 391 pp. LA, 1932. [Hostile and untrustworthy biography by a fellow-Georgian.]

SOUVARINE, B. *Stalin. A Critical Survey of Bolshevism.* Transl. from the French by C. L. R. James. 690 pp. SW (US pr.), 1939. [A large-scale and pretentious biography, by a former member of the Executive Com-

mittee of the Comintern; virtually from the Trotskyist point of view. Valuable on the early history of the Bolshevik Party and on the struggles of the 'twenties, but develops into little more than an hysterical attack on Stalin and the whole regime. (No bibliography or references.)]

LYONS, E. *Stalin. Czar of All the Russias.* 255 pp. HA, 1940. [Journalistic and of no independent value; based mainly on Levine, Souvarine, and the gossip of Moscow. Extremely hostile.]

Beria's speech *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia* (q.v.) is largely devoted to Stalin's career up to the Revolution.

BAIKALOFF, A. V. *I knew Stalin.* 142 pp. BO, 1940. [Savage attack on Stalin and the Soviet regime by a Social Revolutionary. (His actual contacts with Stalin were of the slightest description.)]

RAY, O. *Stalin. The Red Czar.* ('How they did it' Series, 14.) 128 pp. PP, 1939. (Repr., with biographies of Molotov and Voroshilov, in a vol. entitled *Leaders of the USSR*; PP, 1939.) [Brief popular biography.]

BIGLAND, E. *The Riddle of the Kremlin.* 192 pp. CO, 1940. [Journalistic and inadequate sketch of Stalin's career, with special reference to Soviet foreign policy in the 'thirties. (Very intelligent interpretation of the latter for the time of writing—the book was completed March 1940.)]

COLE, D. M. *Josef Stalin. Man of Steel.* 136 pp. RC, 1942. [Conscientious biography, pro-Stalinist but not Communist in approach, based entirely on secondary works in Western European languages. Brief bibl.]

MONTAGU, I. *Stalin. A Biographical Sketch of the Man who leads the USSR.* 32 pp. CP, 1942. [Popular sketch by an English Communist.]

ARNOT, R. PAGE. *Soviet Leaders: Stalin.* 15 pp. CP, 1942. [Popular sketch by an English Communist.]

OWEN, F. *The Three Dictators: Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler.* 266 pp. AU, 1940. [Popular journalism, with no pretensions to research.]

'NOMAD, M.' [= MAX PODOLSKY]. *Apostles of Revolution*. 467 pp. SW, 1939. [Studies on Blanqui, Marx, Bakunin, Zechayev, Most, Makhno, and Stalin. Very hostile to Stalin, written from the Communist Left-Wing standpoint. Useful bibl., largely of Russian and German works.]

b. INTERVIEWS

Stalin's contacts with Americans and Western Europeans have been so few that some of his interviews may be mentioned, though they differ greatly in importance. In 1927 he saw the first American Labour Delegation to Russia (9 Sept.) and the Delegation of Foreign Workers at the tenth anniversary of the Revolution (5 Nov.); the text of both interviews is printed in *Leninism II*. In 1930 he saw the two American correspondents, Eugene Lyons (see his *Assignment in Utopia*) and Walter Duranty. He saw Emil Ludwig in 1932, Rosita Forbes in 1933, H. G. Wells in 1934, and Roy Howard in March 1936. Anna Louise Strong saw him on one occasion in connection with her work in Moscow (see her autobiography, *I Change Worlds*). Mrs Bigland also met him in 1936; see her *Riddle of the Kremlin*.

LUDWIG, E. *Leaders of Europe*. Transl. from the German by J. Murphy. 391 pp. NW, 1934. [Contains a character sketch of Stalin and an account of the author's interview with him in 1932. (The verbatim text was printed under the title *An interview with the German author, Emil Ludwig*. 20 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1932.) An important criticism of some of Ludwig's statements and conclusions is contained in an article by Trotsky dated 31 Dec. 1932, included in *The Suppressed Testament of Lenin* (q.v.).]

FORBES, R. *These Men I knew*. 319 pp. HN, 1940. [Contains a short account of her meeting with Stalin and his wife in 1933, together with an interesting conversation with Voroshilov.]

The Stalin-Wells talk; the verbatim record and a discussion by G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, J. M. Keynes, E. Toller and others. 47 pp. 'New Statesman and Nation', 1934. [Reprint of the verbatim record, published in the *New*

Statesmen and Nation for 27 Oct. 1934, with the correspondence and comments to which it gave rise.]

WELLS, H. G. *Experiment in Autobiography*. 2 vols. 840 pp. G, 1934. [Interesting for his impressions of Stalin at the interview, also for his meetings with Gorki, Pavlov, and others.]

C. WRITINGS AND SPEECHES

There is no collected edition of Stalin's works in English, but the following volumes contain his most important writings.

Leninism (I). Transl. E. and C. Paul. 472 pp. AU (also CP), 1928. [Papers, lectures, and other writings of the years 1924-6.]

Leninism II. Transl. E. and C. Paul. 468 pp. AU (also CP), 1933. [Articles and speeches of the years 1927-31.]

Leninism. 667 pp. AU and LW, 1940. [An abridged version of the eleventh Russian edition; it contains the three chief items in *Leninism I*, most of those published in *Leninism II*, and a considerable amount of additional material of the years 1932-8.]

The October Revolution. A Collection of Articles and Speeches. (Marxist-Leninist Library, No. 11.) 168 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1934, &c. [Various articles and speeches, 1917-27.]

Marxism and the National and Colonial Question. (Marxist-Leninist Library, No. 12.) 304 pp. L, 1936. [Speeches and articles (1913-34) dealing with these topics. Some of those included are also in *Leninism I*.]

Building Collective Farms. (Stalin Pocket Series, 2.) 184 pp. MB, 1931. [A collection of articles on the collectivisation of agriculture. These are all reproduced either in *Leninism II* and/or *Leninism* (1940), with the exception of the two appendices: (1) 'Model Statutes for Agricultural Artels', and (2) 'The Fight against distortions of the Party Line in the Collective Farm Movement'—a circular letter to the Central Committee of the CPSU.]

On the National Question. (Little Stalin Library, 5.) 32 pp. LW, 1942. [Extracts from his writings dealing with the national question.]

On Organization. (Little Stalin Library, 6.) 32 pp. LW, 1942. [Extracts from his writings on problems of Communist organisation.]

Stalin's Kampf. *Joseph Stalin's Credo, written by himself.* Edited by M. R. Werner. 295 pp. J, 1940. [Extracts from his writings and speeches, with critical comments and without any adequate table of contents or index.]

The following works are published separately, but most of them are more conveniently referred to in the larger editions listed above. They are classified in chronological order.

Notes of a Delegate; and Class and Party. (Little Stalin Library, 2.) 48 pp. LW, 1940. [Stalin's notes on the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party, held at London in 1907, together with an article which he contributed to a Georgian paper in 1905. Not otherwise available.]

Lenin. Three speeches about Lenin, one delivered during his lifetime, the others immediately after his death. 32 pp. L, 1934. [An article in *Pravda* (April 1920) and two speeches delivered on 26 and 28 Jan. 1924, together with the questionnaire about Lenin's qualifications, filled in by himself, as a delegate to the Tenth CP Congress in 1921.]

On Lenin: Speeches and Articles. (Little Stalin Library, 3.) 32 pp. LW, 1941. [The same contents as the previous item, together with a brief sketch of 'Lenin in Convalescence' (*Pravda*, 25 Sept. 1922).]

The Theory and Practice of Leninism. 130 pp. CP, 1925. [The same work as 'The Foundations of Leninism', included in *Leninism I* and *Leninism* (1940); extracts from it are printed in BURNS, *A Handbook of Marxism*.]

The Foundation of Leninism. Lectures delivered at the Sverdlov University in the beginning of April, 1924. A new translation. (Little Stalin Library, 1.) 112 pp. LW, 1940. [Reprinted from *Leninism* (1940). The same work as the preceding item.]

- Lenin and Stalin on Youth.* (Little Lenin Library, 21.) 48 pp. LW, 1940. [Stalin's contributions are 'Contradictions within the Young Communist League' (Speech of 5 April 1924), 'Proletarian Students' (letter of 15 April 1925), and 'The Tasks of the Young Communist League' (article in *Pravda* on 29 Oct. 1925).]
- Bolshevism: some questions answered.* 67 pp. CP, 1926. [Included in *Leninism I*, under the title 'Questions & Answers'.]
- The Workers' State: lies about Soviet Russia answered.* 26 pp. CP, 1928. [Verbatim record of interview with the Foreign Delegates to the celebrations of the Tenth Anniversary of the Revolution, 5 Nov. 1927. Included in *Leninism II*.]
- Political Report to the Sixteenth Party Congress of the Russian Communist Party.* (Stalin Pocket Series, 1.) 223 pp. MB, 1930. [Included in *Leninism II*, but omitting there the Resolutions on the Report.]
- The Rise of the Soviets and the Decline of Capitalism.* 8 pp. MB, 1930. [Extracts from preceding item.]
- The Tasks of the Working Class in mastering the technique of production.* 11 pp. MB, 1931. [Speech of 4 Feb. 1931 to the First Congress of Workers in Socialist Industry. Included in *Leninism II* and *Leninism* (1940).]
- New Conditions, new tasks: speech delivered to the leaders of industry, June 23, 1931.* 21 pp. MB, 1931. [Included in *Leninism II* and *Leninism* (1940).]
- The Results of the First Five-Year Plan. Report delivered at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU, Jan. 7, 1933.* 63 pp. MB, 1933. [Included in *Leninism* (1940).]
- The Work in the Rural Districts: speech delivered on Jan. 11, 1933, at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU.* 24 pp. MB, 1933. [Included in *Leninism II* and *Leninism* (1940); also in *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan*.]
- [*Stalin Reports on the Soviet Union.*] *Report on the work of the Central Committee of the CPSU by J. Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the CPSU.* 74 pp. L, 1934. [Included in *Leninism* (1940), and in BURNS, *A Handbook of Marxism*.]

Address to the Graduates from the Red Army Academy, delivered in the Kremlin, May 4, 1935. [Illustrated folder.] L, 1935. [Included in the next item, in *Leninism* (1940), and in BURNS, *A Handbook of Marxism*.]

Three Speeches. 38 pp. L, 1935. [(i) Address to the Graduates of the Red Army Academy, 4 May 1935; (ii) Speech at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, 17 Nov. 1935; (iii) Speech at the Conference of Operators of Combines, 1 Dec. 1935.—The first two are in *Leninism* (1940), the third is not available elsewhere.]

Stalin's 'Report on the Draft Constitution' (25 Nov. 1936), printed in *Leninism* (1940), is available in two other English versions :

The Draft New Constitution : Speeches by J. V. Stalin and M. M. Litvinov. 53 pp. ARPC, 1936.

The New Democracy : Stalin's Speech on the New Constitution. 31 pp. LW, 1937.

Two speeches, delivered at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on 3 and 5 March, are reproduced as an appendix in *The Moscow Trial (January 1937)*, as well as being available separately under the title *Wrecking, Espionage and Terrorism in the USSR* (36 pp. ARPC, 1937).

His speech at the 18th Congress of the CPSU on 10 March 1939 is available in *Leninism* (1940), in the report of the Congress, *The Land of Socialism, Today and Tomorrow*, and separately :

[*Stalin's Historic Speech.*] *Report of the Work of the Central Committee to the 18th Congress of the CPSU (B).* 62 pp. MB, 1939.

The USSR and Foreign Affairs. Speech by J. V. Stalin . . . 51 pp. ARPC, 1939.

Part of it, under the title, 'The Withering Away of the State', is reproduced in *Lenin and Stalin on the State*.

His speeches regarding the War (3 July, 6 and 7 Nov. 1941) are reproduced in :

Stalin Speaks. 31 pp. CP, 1941.

{*Stalin Says . . .*} *Stalin Speaks*. Preface by N. Maclean.
32 pp. ARPC, 1941.

See also his article 'Lenin the genius of Revolution' in *Lenin in Action*, and various articles of 1917 in the volume of V. I. LENIN and J. STALIN, *The Russian Revolution: writings and speeches*. Two of them are also in BURNS, *A Handbook of Marxism*. His 'Report on the Political Situation, August 1917', is available in *Preparing for October* and in BURNS, *A Handbook of Marxism*; the latter also includes, besides the works noted above, part of a speech on 'The International Situation, August 1927' (mainly about China) delivered before the Central Committee of the CPSU on 1 August 1927. Other speeches will be found in such papers as *The Labour Monthly*, *The Communist International*, and *The Communist Review*. Stalin was also one of authors of the official [Short] *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*—his chapter on *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* in this has been published separately under his own name (Little Stalin Library, 4. 32 pp. LW, 1941)—and of the *History of the Civil War in the USSR*.

10. TROTSKY

a. BIOGRAPHIES AND CRITICAL STUDIES

TROTSKY, L. *My Life. The Rise and Fall of a Dictator*. 512 pp. TB, 1930. [A characteristically brilliant and one-sided autobiography.]

EASTMAN, M. *L. Trotsky: the portrait of a youth*. 197 pp. F, 1926. [His life and background up to 1902, as told by Trotsky himself to the author.]

The sketch of Trotsky in Winston Churchill's *Great Contemporaries* (385 pp. TB, 1935. 2nd edn. 387 pp. TB, 1938) is one of the most devastating portraits ever drawn of one great man by another. There is a friendly but rather superficial sketch by J. H. JACKSON in *Twelve Jews* (Ed. H. Bolitho. 288 pp. RC, 1934). An interesting sketch, by one

who knew him well in his later years, is that of MAX EASTMAN, 'The Character and Fate of Leon Trotsky', *Foreign Affairs*, xix, Jan. 1941, pp. 332-42.

A little about his life in Mexico and his views on art will be found in B. D. WOLFE, *Diego Rivera. His Life and Times* (420 pp. RH, 1939).

Two very important works are *The Case of Leon Trotsky* and *Not Guilty* (q.v.), which throw important light on Trotsky's relations with the other members of the Opposition in the 'thirties.

The Errors of Trotskyism. A Symposium. 392 pp. CP, 1925. [Contains the preface to his book *October 1917*, which precipitated his quarrel with the Communist Party, together with rejoinders by the leading Soviet theoreticians.]

Where is Trotsky going? 114 pp. CP, 1928.

ANDREWS, R. F. *The Truth about Trotsky.* 69 pp. CP, 1934.

GALLACHER, W. *Pensioners of Capitalism.* 37 pp. CP, 1934. [These three volumes are violent attacks on Trotsky and Trotskyism from the official Communist point of view.]

b. SEPARATE WORKS

The following list includes all those published in the British Isles, but only the most important of the very numerous books and pamphlets published by him in the United States during the 'thirties. The classification is according to the date of publication in English.

The Bolsheviks and World Peace. Introd. by L. Steffens. 238 pp. Boni & Liveright, NY, 1918. [Written before the Revolution, but important as giving his views about the War.]

Our Revolution. Essays on working class and international revolution, 1904-1917. Coll. and transl., with notes, by M. J. Olgin. 220 pp. Holt, NY, 1918. [Useful collection of his earlier writings.]

War or Revolution: Bolshevik Socialism versus Capitalist Imperialism. 29 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1918. [The final chapters of his book, *The Bolsheviks and World Peace*.]

History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk. 149 pp. AU, 1919. [See II. 1. a.]

A Paradise in this World. 29 pp. BSP, 1920. [An address delivered to a workers' audience on 14 April 1918.]

The Defence of Terrorism—Terrorism or Communism. A Reply to K. Kautsky. With a preface by H. N. Brailsford. 176 pp. LPC, 1921. New edn., with introduction by L. Trotsky. 176 pp. AU, 1935. [A reply to Kautsky's *Terrorism and Communism* (q.v.).]

(and E. VARGA.) *The International Situation: a study of Capitalism in collapse.* 20 pp. CP, 1921. [Report to the Third Congress of the Comintern (July 1921).]

Between White and Red. A study of some fundamental questions of revolution, with particular reference to Georgia. 104 pp. CP, 1922. [See II. 4. g.]

Problems of Life. Transl. Z. Vengerova. Introd. by N. Minsky. 114 pp. M, 1924. [Views on education, the family, morals, &c.]

Lenin. 247 pp. HA, 1925. [See III. 8.]

Literature and Revolution. Transl. by R. Strunsky. 256 pp. AU, 1925. [See V. 1. e.]

The Lessons of October 1917. Transl. by S. Lawrence and I. Olshan. Preface by S. Lawrence. 80 pp. LPC, 1925. [The introduction to the volume of his collection of articles and speeches, *October 1917*; very important for his views on the Revolution.]

Where is Britain going? With a preface by H. N. Brailsford. 178 pp. AU, 1926. 2nd edn., with a preface by L. Trotsky. 178 pp. CP, 1926. [Discussion of English politics in the middle 'twenties; Trotsky's preface to the 2nd edn. was written during the General Strike. (There is a reply to this work by Norman Angell, *Must Britain travel the Moscow road?* 190 pp. Douglas, 1926.)]

Towards Socialism or Capitalism? Transl. by R. S. Townsend and Z. Vengerova, with a preface specially written by the author for the English edn. 128 pp. M, 1926. [Views on the economic development of the Soviet Union up to 1925.]

The Real Situation in Russia. Transl. by M. Eastman. 364 pp. AU (US pr.), 1928. [General statement of his views,

and attack on his opponents for their policy and their mendacity. Includes Lenin's 'Testament' and other important documents.]

The Permanent Revolution. Transl. M. Shachtman. 48 + 157 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1931. [Attack on the theory and practice of Stalinism.]

Problems of the Chinese Revolution. With appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others. Transl. with introd. by M. Shachtman. 432 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1932. [See III. 5. d.]

History of the Russian Revolution. Transl. by M. Eastman. 3 vols. 512, 360, 438 pp. G, 1932-3. 1 vol. reprint (1295 pp.), 1934. [See II. 1. a. (The appendices are devoted to the discussion of various theoretical points at issue between him and the Party.)]

The Russian Revolution. Foreword by J. Maxton. 40 pp. Labour Lit. Dept., 1933. [A speech delivered at Copenhagen in Nov. 1932 interpreting Bolshevism and the Revolution and attacking his adversaries.]

The Soviet Union and the Fourth International. Two essays on the class nature of the Soviet State and Bolshevik Congresses, once and now. 24 pp. Aldred, Glasgow, 1934. [Anti-Stalinist pamphlet.]

The Third International after Lenin. Transl. J. G. Wright. 51 + 357 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1936. [See III. 5. a.]

The Revolution Betrayed. Where is the Soviet Union and where is it going? Transl. by M. Eastman. 312 pp. F, 1937. [Detailed and comprehensive attack on Stalinism, prophesying a new revolution against the bureaucracy. (Completed just before the first of the great trials.)]

The Stalin School of Falsification. With a new foreword by the author. Introd. and explanatory notes by M. Shachtman. Transl. by J. G. Wright. 43 + 326 pp. Pioneer Publ., NY, 1937. [Largely devoted to the 'rewriting' of history in Russia, and to the misrepresentation of Trotsky's career.]

The Coming World War. 32 pp. Workers' International Press, 1938. [A guess at the future alignment and strength of the Great Powers. (Completed August 1937.)]

The Lesson of Spain: the last warning. Introd. by J. R. Strachan. 32 pp. Workers' International Press, 1938. [Attack on Stalin and the activities of the Comintern. (Completed Dec. 1937.)]

KARL MARX. *Selections from 'Capital'.* Ed. and introd. by L. Trotsky. 189 pp. CS, 1940. (Also published in the United States under the title *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx.*)

Trotsky contributed prefaces to A. L. STRONG, *The First Time in History* (1924), and H. R. ISAACS, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (1938). Two important articles by him will also be found in *The Suppressed Testament of Lenin* (1935). He was the author of the article on 'Lenin' in the 14th edn. of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

11. OTHER SOVIET LEADERS

a. BUKHARIN, N. I.

(and E. PREOBRAZHENSKY.) *The ABC of Communism. A popular explanation of the program of the Communist Party of Russia.* Transl. P. Lavin. 165 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1921. Transl. E. and C. Paul. 428 pp. CP, 1922. [The standard textbook during the 'twenties of Communism and the policy of the Communist Party. (The CP edn. is much superior to that of the SLP, and includes in an appendix the official programme of the CPSU adopted at the Eighth Party Congress in March 1919.)]

Building Up Socialism. 66 pp. CP, 1926. [Pamphlet of 1926 defending Party policy against the criticisms of Zinoviev and others.]

The Economic Theory of the Leisure Class. 220 pp. L (US pr.), 1927. [Mainly a criticism of the theories of value and profit held by non-Marxist economists.]

Historical Materialism. A system of Sociology. 318 pp. AU, 1926. [Classic Marxist exposition of the science of sociology.]

Imperialism and World Economy. With an Introd. by V. I. Lenin. (Marxist Library, No. 3.) 173 pp. L (US pr.), 1929. [Analysis of modern capitalism in its international

relations. (Lenin's introduction is also in his *Coll. Works*, xviii, 399-403.)]

Lenin as a Marxist. (Lenin Library, No. 2.) 64 pp. CP, 1925. [Study of Lenin as a theoretician.]

Problems of the Chinese Revolution. Transl. E. and C. Paul. 50 pp. CP, 1927. [Report to a meeting of CP organisers at Moscow in May 1927.]

Programme of the World Revolution. 94 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1920. [Pamphlet written May 1918.]

Soviets or Parliament? [?] pp. WSF, 1919.

See also his articles, 'Marx's Teaching and its Historical Importance', in *Marxism and Modern Thought* (1935), 'Theory and Practice from the standpoint of Dialectical Materialism' in *Science at the Cross Roads* (1931), and 'Poetry, Poetics and the Problems of Poetry in the USSR' in *Problems of Soviet Literature* (1935).

b. LITVINOV, M. M.

Litvinov's writings and speeches are almost exclusively concerned with questions of foreign policy.

Against Aggression. Speeches by M. Litvinov. 208 pp. LW, 1939. [See III. 6. b.]

The Bolshevik Revolution: its rise and meaning. Foreword by E. C. Fairchild. 54 pp. BSP, 1918. [Background and brief account, dated March 1918.]

The Draft New Constitution. Speeches by J. V. Stalin and M. M. Litvinov. 53 pp. ARPC, 1936. [See III. 2. a.]

The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union. 32 pp. FSR, 1930. [Report of 11 Dec. 1929.]

The German Attack on the Soviet Union. Speeches by MM. Molotov, Stalin and Litvinov. 12 pp. ARPC, 1941. [Includes his speech of 8 July 1941.]

The USSR and the Breach of the Locarno Treaty. 15 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Speech of 17 March 1936.]

His speeches and memoranda on disarmament will be found in *Russia's Disarmament Proposals* (1928), in *USSR and Disarmament* (1928), and in *The Soviet's Fight for Disarmament* (1932). Other speeches will be found in *The Soviet Union and Peace* (1929) and in the *Soviet's Foreign Policy* (1934).

C. MOLOTOV, V. M.

There is a brief sketch of Molotov's career by W. P. Coates in the volume of his speeches published under the title *Soviet Peace Policy* (see below). There are also two popular biographies of little value:

GAY, G. *Molotov: author of the Soviet-Nazi Pact.* 93 pp.

PP, 1940 (Repr. in *Leaders of the USSR.* PP, 1941).

MONTAGU, I. *Soviet Leaders: Molotov.* 16 pp. CP, 1942.

Molotov's own works consist for the most part of speeches on foreign affairs (for further details see III. 6. b) or reports to various Soviet congresses. They are published in English under various titles.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union. 80 pp. MB, 1929.
[Report to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Nov. 1928.]

The Developing Crisis of World Capitalism. 53 pp. MB, 1930.
[Report to the 16th Congress of the CPSU.]

The German Attack on the USSR. Speeches by MM. Molotov, Stalin and Litvinov. 12 pp. ARPC, 1941. [Includes his speech of 22 June 1941.]

The New Phase in the Soviet Union. 55 pp. MB, 1930.
[Report to the Enlarged Presidium of the ECCI.]

[*The Molotov*] *Notes on German Atrocities.* 20 pp. SO, 1942.
[Notes of 27 Nov. 1941 and 6 Jan. 1942.]

[*The Third Molotov*] *Note on German Atrocities.* 26 pp. SO, 1942. [Note of 27 April 1942.]

Peace Front against Aggression. 16 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Speech of 31 May 1939.]

Russia and the War . . . 19 pp. MB, 1939. [Speech of 31 Oct. 1939.]

Soviet Foreign Policy. Speech by M. Molotov . . . 19 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Speech of 31 Oct. 1939.]

Soviet Foreign Policy. Speech by M. Molotov . . . 16 pp. ARPC, 1940. [Speech of 1 Aug. 1940.]

Soviet Peace Policy. Four Speeches by V. Molotov. With a foreword by D. N. Pritt and a biographical sketch by

- W. P. and Z. K. Coates. 101 pp. LW, 1941. [Speeches of 31 Aug. and 31 Oct. 1939, and 29 March and 1 Aug. 1940.]
- Soviet Prosperity*. 95 pp. L, 1935. [Two reports to the Seventh Congress of Soviets, Jan.-Feb. 1935.]
- Soviet Russia and the Crisis* . . . 14 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Speech of 31 Aug. 1939.]
- [Molotov's] *Speech to the Sixth Session of the Supreme Soviet* . . . 20 pp. MB, 1940. [Speech of 29 March 1940.]
- [Molotov's] *Statement in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR* . . . 14 pp. MB, 1939. [Speech of 31 Aug. 1939.]
- The Success of the Five-Year Plan*. 88 pp. MB, 1931. [Two reports, one on foreign relations and the other on the progress of the Plan, with part of a third on the danger of intervention, delivered at the 6th Soviet Congress in March 1931.]
- 'Tasks of the First Year of the Second Five-Year Plan' [in *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan* (1933)].
- 'The Third Five-Year Plan' [in *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow* (1941)].
- [and K. VOROSHILOV.] *The 21st Anniversary of the Soviet Regime. Celebration Speeches*. 24 pp. ARPC, 1938. [Speeches made at Moscow, 6 and 7 Nov. 1938.]
- [and K. VOROSHILOV.] *The 22nd Anniversary of the Soviet Regime. Celebration Speeches*. 15 pp. ARPC, 1939. [Extracts from speeches made at Moscow, 6 and 7 Nov. 1939.]
- The USSR, the International Situation and the Peace with Finland*. 17 pp. ARPC, 1940. [Speech of 29 March 1940.]

Other speeches and reports will be found in the *Soviet's Foreign Policy* (1934), in *Socialism Victorious* (1934), in *The Soviet Union and the Path to Peace* (1936), in *Soviet Union, 1936* (1936), and in *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow* (1941), Molotov was one of the co-authors of *The History of the Civil War in the USSR* (q.v.).

d. RADEK, K.

- The Development of Socialism from Theory to Practice*. 24 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1920. [Revolutionary theory and the Russian Revolution.]

England and the East. [?] pp. CP, 1920.

The International Outlook. 24 pp. CP, 1924. [Report to the 6th Plenum of the ECCI, 15 June 1923.]

Portraits and Pamphlets. Introd. by A. J. Cummings and notes by A. Brown. 306 pp. W, 1935. [Very good selection of studies and sketches.]

Radek also wrote the introduction to O. TANIN and E. YOHAN, *Militarism and Fascism in Japan* (320 pp. L [US pr.], 1934), and a contribution from him on 'Contemporary World Literature and the Tasks of Proletarian Art' is included in *Problems of Soviet Literature* (q.v.). An article by him on Soviet foreign policy will be found in *The Foreign Policy of the Powers* (1938).

e. ZINOVIEV, G.

The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism. 12 pp. WSF, 1920. [Pamphlet describing the Bolshevik attitude to trades unions.]

International Socialism and the Proletarian Revolution in Russia. 16 pp. SLP, Glasgow, 1919. [Attack on the Second International and its attitude towards the Revolution.]

Nicolai Lenin. His Life and Work. 48 pp. BSP, 1920. [Speech before the Petrograd Soviet, 6 Sept. 1918.]

Russia's Path to Communism. 70 pp. CP, 1925. [Speech before the 3rd Soviet Congress, 20 May 1925.]

(and V. I. LENIN.) *Socialism and War.* 48 pp. L (US pr.), 1931. [See under Lenin's works in III. 8. e.]

Towards Trade Union Unity. 22 pp. CP, 1924. [Speech at the 5th Congress of the Communist International.]

Twelve Days in Germany. 96 pp. Union Publ. Co., Glasgow, 1921. [Account of the Halle Congress, where he represented the Third International.]

For the 'Zinoviev letter' and the controversies to which it gave rise, see III. 1. d. Zinoviev was one of the signatories of the *Manifesto of the Communist International* (q.v.), and his articles in the Comintern Press are very numerous. See also the appendices to L. TROTSKY, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* (1938).

IV. THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE SOVIET UNION

1. GENERAL STUDIES

a. WAR COMMUNISM AND THE NEP (1918-28)

The following are the most important studies, arranged roughly in order of publication.

Labour Conditions in Soviet Russia. Systematic questionnaire and bibliography, prepared for the Mission of Enquiry to Russia. (I.L.O.) 294 + 144 pp. HR, 1920. [Valuable collection of information from various sources. Exceptionally good bibl., listing pamphlets and newspaper articles as well as books in Russian and other European languages, and containing critical notes on some of the items.]

LEITES, K. *Recent Economic Developments in Russia.* Ed. H. Westergaard. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.) 240 pp. OUP, 1922. [Valuable study, gloomy in tone, largely based on Soviet official information, and only going up to the end of 1920. (By a Russian economist domiciled in Denmark from 1914 onwards.)]

The Organisation of Industry and Labour Conditions in Soviet Russia. (I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series B, No. 11.) 83 pp. Geneva, 1922. [Survey of legislation relating to labour and industrial conditions in 1922, prepared (by S. ZAGORSKY) to assist the work of the Hague Conference.]

Industrial Life in Soviet Russia, 1917-1923. (I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series B, No. 14.) 226 pp. Geneva, 1924. [Sequel to the previous item, giving a general survey of the result of the NEP in legislation and in working conditions. (Also by S. ZAGORSKY.)]

PROKOPOVITCH, S. N. *The Economic Condition of Soviet Russia.* 230 pp. K (France pr.), 1924. [Short clear survey, by a (non-Communist) Professor of Economics at Moscow.]

MAVOR, J. *The Russian Revolution*. 470 pp. AU, 1933. [A sequel to his *Economic History of Russia* (2 vols. 614, 630 pp. 2nd. edn. D, 1925), covering the period 1918-25. Very critical, based largely on hostile sources, but of value. Good bibl., mainly of works in Russian.]

NEARING, S., and HARDY, J. *The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union*. 245 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1927. [Sympathetic general survey, based on official information and observations collected on visits in 1925-7. Useful references.]

DOBB, M. (assisted by H. STEVENS). *Russian Economic Development since the Revolution*. 415 pp. R, 1928. 2nd edn. 437 pp. R (and LRD), 1928. [A standard work by a Cambridge economist, sympathetic in tone. Covers the period 1917-27, the 2nd edn. having a short appendix on agriculture in 1927-8. Brief bibl. (The author was in Russia in 1925; Stevens, who translated the Russian material used, was in Russia in 1922-4 and again in 1926.)]

There is a good chapter by M. FARBMAN on Russia in *Economic Problems in Europe Today* (ed. W. P. Pringle. 146 pp. B, 1928).

YUGOFF, A. *Economic Trends in Soviet Russia*. Transl. E. and C. Paul. 349 pp. AU, 1930. [Good, though hostile, survey of the NEP period and the beginnings of Planning. (First publ. at Riga in German and Russian in 1929.)]

HAENSEL, P. *The Economic Policy of Soviet Russia*. 190 pp. K, 1930. [Useful but very critical short survey by one of the most distinguished of Russian economists, who only left the Soviet Union in 1928.]

LAWTON, L. *Economic History of Soviet Russia*. 2 vols. 629 pp. MM, 1932. [A badly arranged and very critical study by an English economic journalist with a good knowledge of Russia and Russian conditions. No bibl., and almost no references.]

Many of the works in II. 2—particularly those by visitors from abroad—are important for economic conditions in the years 1917-22. The books listed in III. 1. a as a rule devote much space to economic affairs, and in III. 1. f the

reports of collective visits by Trade Union delegations are of particular importance. The periodical literature is also of great value; the *Russian Outlook* and the *Russian Economist*, both representing expropriated capital interests, for May 1919–Sept. 1920 and 1920–3 respectively, and the *Russian Information and Review*, the *Commercial Year-Book of the Soviet Union*, and the *Soviet Union Year-Book*, all three from the official Soviet standpoint, for 1921–4, 1925, and 1926–30. The following works are of minor importance:

NANSEN, F. *Russia and Peace*. 162 pp. AU, 1924. [Mainly an account of economic conditions in 1922–3, as the author had learnt about them while on relief work.]

‘Manchester Guardian Commercial.’ *Reconstruction in Europe*. Ed. J. M. Keynes. Section 4. *Russia*. 6 July 1922. [Very valuable collection of articles by European, American, and Soviet experts.]

[*Soviet Russia*.] *Legal and Economic Conditions of Industrial and Commercial Life in Soviet Russia*. 174 pp. K (Paris pr.), 1924. [A series of studies, mainly by emigré economists (P. APOSTOL, V. N. KOKOVITZOV, M. BERNATSKY, &c.), designed to show that conditions are such that hopes of trade entertained by foreign merchants are dangerous and doomed to failure.]

Outlines of the Present State of the Petroleum Industry of the USSR. 19 pp. Russian Oil Products, 1925. [General survey for the trade.]

KOKOVITZOFF, COUNT, W. [V.V.] *Five Years of Bolshevik Dictatorship. An Economic Survey*. 24 pp. Russian Manufacturers’ & Merchants’ Association in London (France pr.), 1925. [General survey of economic life, which is represented as having completely broken down. (Transl. of an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 March 1925).]

Russia. General Review and Commercial Report. (2 issues.) Nov. 1925, Dec. 1926. 60, 67 pp. Institute of Commercial Research, 1925, 1926. [Information and statistics compiled for the benefit of English firms trading or wishing to trade with the USSR.]

- HINDUS, M. *Broken Earth*. Introd. by G. Frank. 288 pp. U, 1926. [Vivid sketches of village life in the middle 'twenties by a Russian-American journalist revisiting his native village.]
- BORDERS, K. *Village Life under the Soviets*. 191 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1927. [Account of village life by an American who had lived in Russia for a total period of nearly 3 years since 1922.]
- SULLIVAN, B. *The Clothing Industry in Soviet Russia*. (Labour White Paper, 41.) 8 pp. LRD (for FSR), 1928. [Sketch by the Secretary of the London Branch of the Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union.]
- Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union*. (No. 1 of a series of 4 lesson courses for Workers' Study Circles.) 89 pp. CP (Agit.-Prop. Dept.), 1930. [General remarks about Soviet economy and the NEP period.]

b. THE PERIOD OF PLANNING (1928 ONWARDS)

In addition to the detailed accounts of the Five-Year Plans mentioned in the next section, the following general studies of conditions in the 'thirties are of value :

- BURNS, E. *Russia's Productive System*. 288 pp. G, 1930. [General survey of the structure of Soviet industry and agriculture by a British Communist.]
- HOOVER, C. B. *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia*. 361 pp. MM, 1931. [Useful study by an American economist who was in Russia in 1929-30. Written at a difficult time during the collectivisation movement, but not unfriendly. Good bibl.]
- FRIEDMAN, E. M. *Russia in Transition. A Business Man's Appraisal*. 614 pp. AU (US pr.), 1933. [A very full and detailed survey of the economic structure of the USSR in 1930, when the author (a business man and trained economist) visited Russia and undertook a serious study of Soviet society.]
- Soviet Economics*. Ed. G. Dobbert. Transl. from the German by M. Campbell. 843 pp. LA, 1933. [Collection of 14 studies by various non-Soviet experts—either experienced

journalists or foreign specialists—on different aspects of Soviet economic life. The general tendency is extremely critical.]

STRAUSS, E. *Soviet Russia. Anatomy of a social history.* 842 pp. LA, 1941. [A study of the economic history of the USSR in its sociological implications as the author (a Socialist) envisages them—the growth of a Soviet bureaucracy. Clear, well-written, and very useful, particularly for the later period, but the author's preconceptions have to be allowed for. (Good notes, but no bibl.)]

DOBB, M. *Soviet Economy and the War.* 88 pp. R, 1941. [The best short survey of the Soviet economic system and how it has developed. (Brief refs., but no bibl.)]

HUBBARD, L. E. *Soviet Labour and Industry.* 315 pp. MM, 1942. [A useful study, partly historical and partly analytical, very critical and written from a definite point of view. By an English expert with close connections with Russia. (Very useful on most recent legislation.) No bibl. and almost no refs.]

Lawton's *Economic History of Soviet Russia* covers the first years of the First Five-Year Plan. There are also a few studies of a more special character.

Those who built Stalingrad, as told by themselves. Foreword by M. Gorki. 268 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1934. [Series of personal sketches.]

The White Sea Canal. Being an account of the construction of the new canal between the White Sea and the Baltic Sea. By L. Auerbach and others. English edn. ed. by A. Williams-Ellis. 356 pp. LA, 1935. [A composite work by 34 authors, including GORKI, A. TOLSTOI, D. MIRSKY, &c.; important both for its account of an engineering achievement and for the light it throws on the GPU, forced labour, &c.]

SIMON, SIR E. D. and LADY; ROBSON, W. A.; JEWKES, J. *Moscow in the Making.* 258 pp. LN, 1937. [Detailed survey by English experts of the administration and reconstruction of Moscow, based on material collected on

a visit in 1936. (On the same subject see also two reports by L. M. KAGANOVICH, *The Socialist Reconstruction of Moscow and other cities of the USSR* [125 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1931], and *The Construction of the Subway and the Plan of the City of Moscow* [58 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1933.]

Electric Power Development in the USSR. A Collective Study. Prepared under the guidance of B. I. Weitz. Transl. by L. E. Mins. 496 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1937. [A series of detailed technical studies (with maps, plans, statistics, &c.) by a group of Soviet experts, prepared for the Third World Power Conference in Washington. Most important for industrial development (also for river transport and projected canals).]

TVERSKOI, K. N. *The Unified Transport System of the USSR.* 176 pp. G, 1935. [Excellent survey of transport conditions and developments (rail, rivers and canals, Northern Sea route, air) by a Soviet expert.]

For the development of the Kuzbas and other Siberian regions, see also V. 6.

The following works are of less importance :

An Impression of Russia. Repr. from the *Economist*, 1 Nov. 1930. 67 pp. 'The Economist', 1931. [Brief sketch of economic conditions by a special correspondent who visited Russia in the summer of 1930.]

Economic Conditions in the USSR. Handbook for Foreign Economists, Specialists and Workers. (USSR Chamber of Commerce.) 286 pp. Vneshtorgizdat, Moscow, 1931. [An account of the organisation of industry, together with miscellaneous information likely to be useful to foreigners.]

GLAESER, E., and WEISKOPF, F. C. *The Land Without Unemployment. Three Years of the Five-Year Plan.* With an epilogue by A. Kurella. 215 pp. L (Germ. pr.), 1931. [Collection of excellent photos of Russian life, industry, &c. Only a brief note on the Plan.]

German miners in the Donbas. How unemployed miners help to build Socialism. 18 pp. MB, 1931. [Work of Ruhr miners in the Donbas.]

- POLANYI, M. *USSR Economics. Fundamental Data, System and Spirit.* 25 pp. Manchester Univ. Press, 1936. [Repr. from *The Manchester School*, VI, no. 2, 1935, pp. 67-90.] [Intelligent and sympathetic summary of economic conditions, based on research and personal visits to Russia.]
- USSR Speaks for Itself. Vol. 1. Industry.* 95 pp. LW, 1941. [Brief articles by Soviet experts.]
- Soviet Youth in Industry.* (Study Outline, No. 2.) 16 pp. Anglo-Soviet Youth Friendship Alliance, 1942. [Brief sketch of industrial conditions.]

2. THE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

a. THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The literature of the First Five-Year Plan in the languages of Western Europe, and particularly in German, is very considerable. The following list is in the main confined to works in English.

The following are the official and semi-official accounts.

- The Soviet Union Looks Ahead. The Five-Year Plan for Economic Construction.* 275 pp. AU, 1930. [Translation of the official summary of the Plan. (The full Russian text of the Plan occupies six vols.)]
- GRINKO, G. F. *The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. A Political Interpretation.* 340 pp. L, 1930. [An account of the objects and character of the Plan, by the Vice-President of the Planning Commission.]
- Socialist Planned Economy in the Soviet Union.* 120 pp. L (Germ. pr.), 1932. [Four papers contributed by Gosplan officials to the World Social Economic Congress at Amsterdam in 1931. They are: (1) V. OBOLENSKY-OSSINSKY, 'The Premises, Nature and Forms of Social-Economic Planning'; (2) S. L. RONIN, 'The Plan in Action'; (3) A. GAYSTER, 'The Planning and Development of Agriculture in the USSR'; (4) I. A. KRAVOL, 'Labour in the Planned Economy of the USSR'. (Also available

in the official report of the Congress—*World Social Economic Planning* [2 vols. 587, 935 pp. International Industrial Relations Institute, The Hague and New York, 1931]—and in the *Annals of Collective Economy* [Geneva], vii, 1931, pp. 257–366.])

Summary of the Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan. Report of the State Planning Commission. 296 pp. Gosplan, Moscow, 1933. [Detailed statistical report, presented to the World Economic Conference.]

From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan. A Symposium. 490 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1933. [Speeches and reports by Soviet leaders delivered at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU and elsewhere in Jan. 1933. Apart from the resolutions of these bodies, the volume contains : J. STALIN, 'The Results of the First Five-Year Plan' and 'Work in the Rural Districts'; V. MOLOTOV, 'Tasks of the First Year of the Second Five-Year Plan'; V. KUIBYSHEV, 'The Technical Reconstruction of National Economy'; G. K. ORJONIKIDZE, 'The Advance of Heavy Industry'; L. M. KAGANOVICH, 'Political Depts. in Motor Tractor Stations and Soviet Farms'; Y. A. YAKOVLEV, 'Consolidating the Collective Farms'; K. E. VOROSHILOV, 'Strengthening the Defence of the USSR'; G. F. GRINKO, 'The Financial Programme of the USSR for 1933'.]

GUREVITCH, M. G. *The Five-Year Plan.* 15 pp. SCR, 1931. [An address given at the London School of Economics by the Director of the Supreme Council of National Economy.]

BRON, S. G. *Soviet Economic Development and American business. Results of the First Year under the Five-Year Plan and further perspectives.* 147 pp. Liveright, NY, 1930. [Detailed statistical account of achievements by the former chairman of Amtorg.]

Some of the most important writings and speeches of Stalin, Molotov, and other leaders dealing with the Plan are available in the collection just referred to, *From the First to the Second Five-Year Plan*; for further details, see the list of their works in III. 9 and 11. c.

Coming to unofficial accounts, the two best expositions of the Plan in English are W. H. CHAMBERLIN, *The Soviet Planned Economic Order* (258 pp. World Peace Foundation, Boston, 1931) and M. FARBMAN, *Piatiletka : Russia's Five-Year Plan* (220 pp. New Republic, NY, 1931), both by able American journalists with an intimate knowledge of Russia. The following works are also of value :

SEGAL, L. *The Soviet Union in Reconstruction*. 65 pp. Blackfriars Press, 1931. [The Plan and the achievements of its first year. Based on a study made on a visit in the summer of 1929.]

„ *Modern Russia, the land of planning*. 169 pp. Industrial Credits and Services, 1933. [Popular account of the achievements of the Plan.]

KNICKERBOCKER, H. R. *The Soviet Five-Year Plan and its Effect on World Trade*. 246 pp. LA, 1931. [Excellent sketches of particular aspects of the Plan and of its individual achievements (Magnitogorsk, Stalingrad, &c.). Based on visits and investigations made during two months in Russia in 1930. By one of the ablest of American economic journalists.]

WALTER, E. *Russia's Decisive Year*. 282 pp. HN (US pr.), 1932. [Very unfavourable observations of an American correspondent who spent several months in Russia in 1931, and regarded the Plan as a failure.]

There is also an excellent section by G. S. COUNTS, 'The Soviet Planning System and the Five-Year Plan,' in *Bolshevism, Fascism and Capitalism : an account of the three economic systems*, by G. S. COUNTS and others (274 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1932). [This volume also contains a report of an interesting discussion on the whole Soviet system, with Hoover and other experts participating.]

The following works, by professional economists, are all very critical :

Collectivist Economic Planning. Critical studies on the possibility of Socialism by N. G. PIERSON, L. VON MISES, G. HOLM, and E. BARONE. Ed. with an Introduction and Concluding Essay by F. A. HAYEK. 298 pp. R, 1935.

[Studies (mainly theoretical) by various economists, and not relating particularly to the Five-Year Plan. Good bibl.]

BRUTZKUS, B. *Economic Planning in Soviet Russia*. Foreword by F. A. Hayek. Transl. from the German by G. Gardiner. 234 pp. R, 1935. [An essay on 'The doctrine of Marxism in the light of the Russian Revolution', written in 1920, and a study on 'The Results of Economic Planning in Russia', written in 1934. By a Russian economist resident in Germany since 1922.]

PROCOPOVICH, S. 'Soviet Russia's Five-Year Plan.' *Annals of Collective Economy*, vi, 1930, pp. 28-95. [Detailed criticism by the leading Russian emigré economist.]

It may be noted that from 1930 onwards there are many good articles in the *Annals of Collective Economy* (ed. E. Milhaud: Geneva, 1925 onwards) relating to planning in Russia; vols. vi and vii (1930, 1931), which are particularly important, contain no less than fourteen.

Two more popular works on planning in general, with incidental references to Russia, are B. WOOTTON, *Plan or No Plan* (360 pp. G, 1933), and G. D. H. COLE, *Principles of Economic Planning* (435 pp. MM, 1935).

The following pamphlets are of minor importance:

ROTHSTEIN, A. *Russia's Socialist Triumph. Exposition of the Soviet Union's Five-Year Plan of Socialist Reconstruction*. 32 pp. CP, 1929. [Some general remarks.]

COATES, W. P. *The Five-Year Plan. Introduction and explanatory notes to the map of the Five-Year Plan for the development of the National Economy of the USSR*. 23 pp. ARPC, 1930. [Brief introduction, with accompanying map.]

Building up Socialism. What is the Five-Year Plan? 24 pp. MB, 1930. [Explanation of the Plan, with some statistics.]

Industrialisation of the Country and the Five-Year Plan. (No. 2 of a Series of 4 lesson courses for Workers' Study Circles.) 39 pp. CP (Agit.-Prop. Dept.), 1930. [Brief sketch.]

SAMUEL, M. *The Five-Year Plan. Socialism in Theory and in Practice in Russia*. 88 pp. County Press, Bedford,

1931. [Anti-Socialist pamphlet, denying the success of the Plan, with many citations from the Soviet Press. Largely devoted to attacking the *Economist* pamphlet, *An Impression of Russia* (q.v.).]

Good accounts will also be found in many of the books listed in the previous section—the Birmingham *Memoranda* give useful statistics and analyses—and in those in III. 1. a.

b. THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The following are the official and semi-official accounts :

(State Planning Commission of the USSR.) *The Second Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR (1933–37)*. Transl. and ed. by I. B. Lasker and J. Swift. 671 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1936. [Summary of the official programme, with a foreword for the English edn. by V. I. Mezhlauk on ‘The Fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan during 1933–35’.]

Socialist Construction in the USSR. Statistical Abstract. (Central Administration of Economic and Social Statistics of the State Planning Commission of the USSR.) 538 pp. Soyuzorgouchet, Moscow, 1936. [Volume consisting entirely of statistics, illustrating the progress of the Plan to the end of 1935. (See also *The USSR in Figures. 1934*. 276 pp. [Central Administration of Economic and Social Statistics of Gosplan, Moscow, 1934], a collection of statistics regarding population, trade, production, &c. Also issues for subsequent years.)]

Forward to the Second Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction. The Resolutions of the 17th Party Conference. 40 pp. MB, 1934. [Resolutions mainly dealing with the Second Five-Year Plan.]

See also various writings and speeches of Stalin and Molotov in III. 9 and 11. c.

The following are unofficial accounts :

COATES, W. P., and COATES, Z. K. *The Second Five-Year Plan of development of the USSR*. Preface by the Rt. Hon. H. S. Morrison. Foreword by A. Ozersky. 129 pp.

- M, 1934. [Popular summary of the achievements of the First Five-Year Plan and the provisions of the Second. Based on Russian official and semi-official material.]
- COATES, W. P., and COATES, Z. K. *Soviet National Economy A record of progress in 1935 and estimates for 1936*. Introd. by the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander. 69 pp. ARPC, 1936. [Very favourable account, based on the official statistics. With a speech by Tukhachevsky of Jan. 1936.]
- SAMUEL, M., and CAPLAN, L. *The Great Experiment. Results of the Five-Year Plans*. 133 pp. MU, 1935. [Anti-Socialist pamphlet in the form of a detailed account of the Plans and their shortcomings, as revealed by official reports and the Soviet press.]

C. THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

No complete project for the Third Five-Year Plan, analogous to that for the First and Second Plans, was ever published. One may mention, however, Molotov's report, *The Third Five-Year Plan*, to the 18th Party Congress in March 1939 (76 pp. FLPH, Moscow, 1939; also in *The Land of Socialism, Today and Tomorrow*; a summary of it, by A. E. Sturdy, is published as an appendix in M. EDELMAN, *How Russia Prepared*), and N. VOZNESENSKY's report, *Economic Results of the USSR in 1940 and the Plan of National Economic Development for 1941*, to the 19th Party Congress in February 1941 (39 pp. FLPH, Moscow, 1941). Information regarding the developments of the most recent period can also be found in L. E. HUBBARD, *Soviet Labour and Industry*, in M. DOBB, *Soviet Economy and the War*, in M. EDELMAN, *How Russia Prepared*, and in articles by A. BAYKOV in such periodicals as *Economica* and the *Memoranda* issued by the London and Cambridge Economic Service (under the auspices of the Royal Economic Society) for 1940 onwards.

An important study of the statistical methods used and the real meaning of the figures arrived at in computing the achievements of the First and Second Five-Year Plans is C. CLARK, *A Critique of Russian Statistics* (76 pp. MM, 1939). For a criticism of Colin Clark's results, see M. DOBB, *Soviet Economy and the War*.

8. COLLECTIVISED AGRICULTURE

The collectivisation of agriculture is dealt with in the works on the Five-Year Plans listed in the preceding section, but the following books deal with it more specifically :

- STALIN, J. *Building Collective Farms*. 184 pp. MB, 1931. [Collection of articles forming the official statement of policy in 1929-31, together with the 'Model Statutes for Agricultural Artels'. (See also other writings and speeches of Stalin and Molotov.)]
- YAKOVLEV, Y. A. *Red Villages*. Transl. A. L. Strong. L, 1930. [Popular sketch of the objects of the Plan in relation to agriculture, by the Commissar of Agriculture.]
- CAMPBELL, T. D. *Russia, Market or Menace?* 148 pp. LN, 1932. [General and on the whole favourable account of collectivisation by an American expert on large-scale farming. Based on two visits of inspection at the invitation of Gosplan in Jan. 1929 and July 1930.]
- BEAUCHAMP, J. *Agriculture in Soviet Russia*. 126 pp. G, 1931. [Sympathetic general survey, based on extensive travels in Russia in 1930.]
- HINDUS, M. *Red Bread*. 348 pp. CA, 1931. [Sketches describing the effect of collectivisation on the peasantry between 1929 and 1931. Admirable.]
- TIMOSHENKO, V. P. *Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem*. 571 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1932. [A monumental survey of the whole question ; the fullest statistical account available in English. (The same author later contributed an important article, 'Soviet Agricultural Reorganization and the Bread-Grain Situation', to the *Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute* (Stanford University), xiii, No. 7, April 1937, pp. 309-76. It is essentially a critical analysis and account of the 1936 official report, *Agricultural Economy in the USSR* (1465 pp.; in Russian), leading to rather unfavourable conclusions.)]
- BUCHWALD, N., and BISHOP, R. *From Peasant to Collective Farmer*. 101 pp. L, 1933. [Sketches of the development of collective farming by two correspondents who attended

the First Congress of Collective Farm *udarniki* in Moscow in Feb. 1933 ; based on interviews with the delegates and subsequent travels on their own.]

SMITH, V. R. *In a Collective Farm Village*. 229 pp. FSU, 1937. [Record of a visit in summer 1936.]

HUBBARD, L. E. *The Economics of Soviet Agriculture*. 316 pp. MM, 1939. [An able, competent, and thorough survey, setting the changes since 1917 against the background of pre-revolutionary developments.]

AMMENDE, E. *Human Life in Russia*. 319 pp. AU, 1936. [Account (at second hand) of famine conditions in South Russia in 1933-4, based on eye-witness reports and the evidence of the Soviet Press. By a distinguished Estonian relief worker with a good knowledge of Russia. (Many photographs, taken by an Austrian specialist at Kharkov.)]

There is a considerable literature, in many of the books in III. 1. a, on the subject of famine as induced by over-rapid collectivisation and government policy ; see particularly Chamberlin's *Russia's Iron Age* for the author's personal investigations into the matter.

The following works are of minor importance :

STRONG, A. L. *Modern Farming—Soviet Style*. 31 pp. MB (US pr.), 1930. [Pamphlet describing and justifying collectivisation, with sketches of sowing operations in the spring of 1930.]

Socialist Reorganization of Agriculture. (No. 3 of a series of 4 lesson courses for Workers' Study Circles.) 40 pp. CP (Agit.-Prop. Dept.), 1931. [Facts and achievements of the collectivisation drive.]

Soviet Policy in Agriculture. 23 pp. FSR, 1932. [Pamphlet describing collectivisation policy.]

PAZUKHINA, E. *Collective Farm 'Trud'*. Written down by P. TATAROVA. 63 pp. MB (USSR pr.), 1932. [A peasant woman's own story of how she started a collective farm.]

ISBACH, A. *One of the 25,000 : the story of a Shock-Worker*. 72 pp. MB (USSR pr.), 1931. [Account of the work of

a 'shock-brigade' (G. Injevakin) in Turkestan, based on his correspondence; valuable for light thrown on the methods used by the government in breaking down peasant recalcitrance.]

USSR Speaks for Itself. Vol. II. Agriculture and Transport. 104 pp. LW, 1941. [Brief articles by Soviet experts.]

See also Monograph No. 2 of the School of Slavonic Studies, and Memorandum No. 5 of the Birmingham Bureau of Research (in Appendix 3).

4. TRADE AND COMMERCE

a. INTERNAL TRADE

NODEL, W. *Supply and Trade in the USSR.* 176 pp. G, 1934. [Brief sketch of the structure and mechanism of internal trade by a leading Soviet economist and journalist.]

HUBBARD, L. E. *Soviet Trade and Distribution.* 381 pp. MM, 1938. [Very thorough survey of the various mechanisms of trade and the distribution of goods, based mainly on official sources as critically interpreted by a rather unfavourable observer.]

b. FOREIGN TRADE

The Organisation of Foreign Trade of the USSR. Report by . . . G. P. PATON, May 1931. 38 pp. (Cmd. 3904.) SO, 1931. [Brief sketch of organisation, with addresses of and lists of articles handled by trading institutions, statistics of trade, &c.]

KNICKERBOCKER, H. R. *Soviet Trade and the World Depression.* 288 pp. LA, 1931. [General account, based on material collected on visits in 1931 to the chief centres of Western Europe, of the trade relations of Russia abroad. By an able American economic journalist.]

BUDISH, J. M., and SHIPMAN, S. S. *Soviet Foreign Trade: Menace or Promise.* 236 pp. AU (US pr.), 1931. [Survey of Soviet foreign trade, from the Soviet point of view.]

YANSON, J. D. *Foreign Trade in the USSR*. 176 pp. G, 1934. [Admirable summary, partly historical and partly analytical, by a Soviet economic expert with experience both in Russia and abroad.]

CONOLLY, V. *Soviet Economic Policy in the East (Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Mongolia and Tana Tuva, Sin Kiang)*. 168 pp. OUP, 1933. [Careful and scholarly study, based on investigations in Russia and elsewhere. Excellent bibl.]

„ *Soviet Trade from the Pacific to the Levant. With an Economic Study of the Soviet Far Eastern Region*. 238 pp. OUP, 1935. [Sequel to the previous volume, dealing with the Far East proper (China, Japan, &c.). With valuable docs., maps, statistics and bibl.]

See also I. V. BOYEFF, 'The Soviet State Monopoly of Foreign Trade', in *The Soviet Union and World Problems* (1935).

KRASSIN, LUBOV. *Leonid Krassin: his life and work*. 284 pp. Skeffington, 1929. [By Krassin's widow. Of some value for the history of trade relations with other countries in the early 'twenties, with liberal use of official docs., private letters, &c. (Also interesting on the Civil War and economic disorganisation of 1917-22.)]

Soviet trade with Great Britain in the 'twenties was so closely bound up with the general question of Anglo-Russian relations that the numerous pamphlets and memoranda dealing with it will be found in III. 6. c. For the 'thirties, see also (in Appendix 3) *Monographs* 1, 7-8, and 10 of those published by the School of Slavonic Studies, and *Memoranda* 2, 7, 9 and 13 of those published by the Birmingham Bureau of Research.

5. THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

On the Co-operative movement in Russia before 1917, one may consult the brief sketch, written just after the February Revolution, of J. V. BUBNOFF, *The Co-operative Movement in Russia. Its history, significance, and character* (162 pp. Co-op.

Printing Soc., Manchester, 1917), or the large and authoritative study of E. M. KAYDEN and A. N. ANTSEFEROV, *The Co-operative Movement in Russia during the War* (Economic and Social History of the World War). 436 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1929.

The following studies are of a general character :

BLANC, E. T. *The Co-operative Movement in Soviet Russia*. 324 pp. MM, NY, 1924. [Careful and detailed study, both of the history of the movement in Russia before and after the Revolution, and its position in 1923. (Good bibl. of books and articles, in Russian and other languages.)]

The Co-operative Movement in Soviet Russia. I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series H (Co-operation), No. 3. 362 pp. Geneva, 1925. [Detailed study, with abundant statistics, &c. (Very full bibl. of Russian literature.)]

POPOFF, P. *Consumers' Co-operation in the USSR*. Transl. from the German. 46 pp. Manchester, 1927. [Outline sketch by the Director of the Education Dept. of Centrosoyuz.]

TIKHOMIROV, W. A. *Co-operatives in Socialist Construction*. A concise compilation of facts. 31 pp. Privately pr., Berlin, 1927. [Pamphlet of statistics by the Secretary of the Central Co-operative Council.]

WISE, E. F. *Consumers' Co-operation in Soviet Russia*. 12 pp. Co-operative Union, Manchester, 1929. [Brief sketch, being the substance of an address given at Glasgow.]

PAUL, L. A. *Co-operation in the USSR*. A study of the consumers' movement. 160 pp. G, 1934. [Good introductory survey, with bibl. of works in English.]

REEVES, J. *Co-operation in the Soviet Union*. A full account of the present position and future prospects of the Co-operative Movement in the USSR. 12 pp. FSU, 1937. [Speech in London on 14 March 1937.]

HENROTTE, E. *Co-operation in Soviet Russia*. 16 pp. RTS 1940. [Brief sketch by an English expert.]

The following works deal with particular topics :

RATNER, G. *Agricultural Co-operation in the Soviet Union*. Transl. from the German by M. Digby. Ed. by the Horace

Plunkett Foundation. 90 pp. R, 1929. [Authoritative account of Agricultural Co-operatives in the late 'twenties, by a member of the Board of the Union of Agricultural Co-operative Unions.]

ROCKELL, E. F. *The Russian and British Co-operative Movements. An Experiment in International Co-operation.* 24 pp. Russian-British Co-operative Information Bureau, 1919.

BAROU, N. *Russian Co-operative Banking.* Foreword by T. G. Davies. 82 pp. K, 1931. [Authoritative account by the Director of the Moscow Narodny Bank in London. (See also the section on the USSR in his *Co-operative Banking.* 350 pp. K, 1932.)]

„ *The Co-operative Movement in the USSR and its Foreign Trade.* Introd. by E. F. WISE. 32 pp. K, 1927. [Good general account.]

„ *Russian Co-operation abroad. Foreign Trade, 1918-1928.* Foreword by Sir T. Allen. 96 pp. K, 1930. [Statistics of trade with various countries.]

Much information can also be obtained from such periodicals as the *Year-Book of Agricultural Co-operation* and the *Review of International Co-operation*. See also the accounts of the visits of groups of co-operators in 1929-31 (III. 1. f).

6. TRADE UNIONS AND LABOUR CONDITIONS

a. GENERAL WORKS

The Gains of the Revolution. Russian Workers' Conditions. (Labour White Papers, 14.) 15 pp. LRD, 1925. [Notes based on the B.T.U. report of 1925.]

ZAGORSKY, S. *Wages and Regulation of Conditions of Labour in the USSR.* I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series D (Wages and Hours of Work), No. 19. 212 pp. King (Geneva pr.), 1930. [Detailed study, covering the period 1922-9, with valuable bibl. of Russian literature.]

PRICE, G. M. *Labor Protection in Soviet Russia.* 128 pp. MB, (US pr.), 1929. [Short survey by an American expert who

had worked extensively on labour conditions in various European countries. Based partly on a visit to Russia in 1927. Good bibl., mainly of Russian books.]

A Selection of Documents relative to the Labour Legislation in force in the USSR. Russia No. 1 (1931). Cmd. 3775. 200 pp. SO, 1931. [The complete text of the Labour Code (1922) and the Labour Correctional Code (1924) with their subsequent amendments, together with much special legislation and statistics of wages, hours of work, &c., in various industries.]

FREEMAN, J. *The Soviet Worker. An account of the economic, social and cultural status of labour in the USSR.* 408 pp. L (US pr.), 1932. [The best study of conditions of labour—wages, trade unionism, planned economy, &c.—down to 1931. Based on a study of the printed sources and a year's investigation in Russia. Good bibl. (mainly Russian works).]

Labour in the Land of Socialism: Stakhanovites in Conference. 240 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1936. [Report of 35 speeches (including ones by Stalin, Molotov, Orjonikidze, Kaganovich, Voroshilov, Mikoyan) made at the first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites in Dec. 1935.]

KUCZYNSKI, J. *The Condition of the Workers in Great Britain, Germany and the Soviet Union, 1932-1938.* 92 pp. G, 1938. [A statistical study of standards of living and their changes in the three countries; the comparison with the Soviet Union is not really adequate.]

SQUANCE, W. J. R. *Social Services in Soviet Russia.* Foreword by J. H. Potts. 28 pp. RTS, 1941. [Brief popular sketch.]

See also the monthly or annual reports of various sections of the International Labour Office, and the reports of Trade Union delegates and other organised parties of visitors (III. 1. f). Several of the Birmingham Memoranda and the Monographs of the School of Slavonic Studies (see Appendix 3) are also relevant. Many details about wages, living conditions, &c., will be found in CITRINE, *I search for truth in Russia* (q.v.).

b. TRADE UNIONS

For the development of Trade Unionism up to the Revolution see S. P. TURIN, *From Peter the Great to Lenin. A History of the Russian Labour Movement with special reference to Trade Unionism* (220 pp. K, 1935).

Trades Unions in Soviet Russia. A Collection of Russian Trades Union documents compiled by the I.L.P. Information Section of the Labour Research Dept. 91 pp. LRD and ILP, 1921. [Includes a long study by A. LOZOVSKY, 'Trades Unions in Soviet Russia : their development and present position' ; Lenin's speech to the 3rd All-Russian T.U. Congress (April 1920) ; and accounts by officials of the structure and working of four important unions.]

The Trade Union Movement in Soviet Russia. I.L.O. Studies and Reports, Series A (Industrial Relations), No. 26. 287 pp. Geneva (Belgium pr.), 1927. [Full and detailed study, from the point of view both of Communist theory and of actual practice. (Good bibl., mainly of Russian works, but including a useful list of articles in the *International Labour Review* and *Industrial and Labour Information* on conditions of labour in the Soviet Union.)]

Social Insurance in Soviet Russia. Foreword by G. Lansbury. (Labour White Paper, No. 38.) 16 pp. LRD, 1927. [Brief pamphlet of no importance.]

Trades Unions in Soviet Russia. Foreword by A. B. Swales. (Labour White Papers, No. 37.) 15 pp. LRD, 1927. [Brief sketch.]

DUNN, R. W. *Soviet Trade Unions.* 238 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928. [Excellent study by an American expert.]

LOZOVSKY, A. *Handbook on the Soviet Trade Unions, for Workers' Delegations.* 144 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1937. [An account of the structure, functions, and activities of the trades unions, and their relations with other bodies in the State, by the chief Soviet authority.]

DOBB, M. *How Soviet Trade Unions work.* Introd. by J. H. Potts. 15 pp. LRD, 1941. [Brief, clear sketch.]

Soviet Trade Unions. Fifty Questions Answered. Ed. with an introd. by A. Horner. 26 pp. [Useful compilation of information.]

There is a good study of trade unionism in the USSR by M. DOBB in *Organised Labour in Four Continents, 1918-1938*, by H. A. MARQUAND and others (518 pp. LN, 1939).

C. FORCED LABOUR AND TIMBER CAMPS

The campaign in Great Britain in 1930-1 against 'forced labour' in the Russian timber trade was designed rather to assist Finnish and Swedish timber interests and injure Anglo-Soviet relations than to bring to light authentic evidence regarding conditions of labour in Russia. The details of it can be best followed in the files of the *Timber Trades Journal* for 1930-1, but the following pamphlets may be mentioned:

Forced Labour in Russia? Facts and Documents. 47 pp. 'British Russian Gazette and Trade Outlook', 1931. [Collection of letters and notes exposing many of the allegations.]

The Russian Conscripts. 10 pp. 'The Times', 1931. [Reprint of three articles published in May 1931.]

PIM, SIR A. W., and BATESON, E. *Report on Russian Timber Camps.* 132 pp. BN, 1931. [Painstaking investigation based on insufficient evidence.]

That 'Forced Labour' Lie. The Truth about 'Forced Labour' in the Soviet Union. 40 pp. MB, 1931. [Communist pamphlet denying the allegations of forced labour, and attacking its critics.]

Russian Timber. Statement on Russian Timber, issued by the Special Committee of the Timber Trade Federation of the United Kingdom. 21 pp. Timber Trade Federation, 1931. [Reports by an English expert and an American journalist on conditions in the timber trade, with comments by the Committee.]

Russian Timber. Report of the Delegation appointed by the Russian Committee of the Timber Trade Federation of the United Kingdom. 8 pp. London, 1931. [Article repr. from the *Timber Trades Journal* (London), 19 Sept. 1931]

(Vol. 118, pp. 773-6), describing personal investigations in Russia on behalf of the Trade.]

There is an interesting account of the campaign (up to Sept. 1931) in W. P. COATES, *Is Soviet Trade a Menace?* (q.v.).

ATHOLL, DUCHESS OF. *The Conscription of a People*. 206 pp. A, 1931. [Prejudiced and one-sided survey, based on material available in English—mainly Haensel, Hoover, Pim and Bateson, the *Selection of Docs. relative to Labour Legislation*, and translated extracts from the Soviet press. Covers all forms of industry and agriculture.]

„ *The Truth about Forced Labour in Russia*. 64 pp. A, 1932. [Summary of the preceding item, with a little subsequent material.]

FARKASH, G. *Free Soviet Labour versus Capitalist Forced Labour*. Foreword by H. Pollitt. 44 pp. MB, 1932. [Pamphlet contrasting colonial exploitation with collective farms, &c.]

Out of the Deep. Letters from Soviet Timber Camps. Introd. by H. Walpole. 96 pp. Bles, 1933. [Letters of 1931-2 from Volga Germans sent to timber camps during the collectivisation drive. (Propaganda for the Baltische Russlandsarbeit, a Bible Society working in Russia.)]

See also many of the works in III. 4, on the Secret Police and Concentration Camps, for further information on this subject. (These works must obviously be used with caution.)

d. THE EXPERIENCES OF FOREIGN EXPERTS AND OTHERS

It is impossible to draw any hard and fast line between the books in this subsection and many of those in III. 1. *a*. The rough distinction is that the books in this subsection, with the exception of the first few items, are primarily autobiographical, and illustrate conditions in Russia by reference to the experience of their authors, while those in III. 1. *a* are intended as descriptions of some phase or phases of Russian society and are more deliberately objective in character. But the distinction is a fine one, and the books in III. 1. *a*—and III. 1. *e*—should be

used to supplement those mentioned below. So also should the books in III. 4, which represent the experiences of those who came into contact with the most unpleasant side of life in Russia. For the period before 1922, see also II. 2.

The following books are not concerned primarily with their authors' experiences :

ISTRATI, P. *Russia Unveiled*. Transl. from the French by R. J. S. Curtis. 272 pp. AU, 1932. [A highly prejudiced account of working conditions, mainly based on extracts from the Soviet Press describing breakdowns, complaints, difficulties, &c., which are cited as if they gave a complete picture of the facts. By a Rumanian litterateur of Left-Wing sympathies who spent over a year in Russia in 1927-8.]

BAIKALOFF, A. V. *In the Land of the Communist Dictatorship. (Labour and Social Conditions in Soviet Russia Today.)* 285 pp. CA, 1929. [A very unfavourable picture of working conditions, produced in much the same way as in Istrati's book. By a Social Revolutionary exile.]

LAZAREVSKI, V. *Under the Bolshevik Uniform*. Transl. by Lady Troubridge. 320 pp. BU, 1936. [Very hostile account of Soviet history and conditions of life, based largely on newspaper extracts, &c.]

SILVER, B. *The Russian Worker's own Story*. 251 pp. AU, 1938. [By a Left-Wing Belgian worker with SR connections who had worked in Russia early in the century and visited it again in the winter of 1933-4. Largely conversations with Russians, who are depicted as almost unanimously hostile to the regime for its betrayal of Communist ideals.]

WHITE, W. C. *These Russians*. 376 pp. SC (US pr.), 1931. [The kind of life led by various types of people, as related by themselves to an American journalist.]

BINDER, P. *Mischa and Mascha. Stories and Drawings*. 315 pp. G, 1936. [Sketches of the lives of eight different types of citizen under the Soviet regime.]

ALLAN, S. R. *Comrades and Citizens (Soviet People)*. Introd. by B. Webb. 392 pp. G, 1938. [Personal sketches of

various types of Soviet citizens and their lives, as told to a former *Moscow Daily News* reporter. She left Russia in 1935, and an appendix contains subsequent correspondence with these acquaintances. (For a very different picture, see MADAME CHERNAVIN'S *We, Soviet Women.*)] *Everyday Life in Russia*. Compiled by B. Malnick. With drawings by Pearl Binder and 17 photos. 282 pp. HA, 1938. [Letters, diary and newspaper extracts, menus, &c., illustrating details of daily life in Russia between 1935 and 1937.]

The following works are by foreigners who worked in Soviet industry or agriculture. They are arranged roughly in order of date.

RUKEYSER, W. A. *Working for the Soviets. An American engineer in Russia*. 280 pp. CA, 1932. [By an American asbestos expert employed in the Urals 1928-30. Very informative and fair-minded; valuable for difficulties of industrialisation and the activities of the GPU.]

LITTLEPAGE, J. D., and BESS, D. *In Search of Soviet Gold*. 287 pp. HA, 1939. [By a gold-mining expert who worked in Russia 1928-37. Very valuable for conditions of life, industrial development, wrecking, &c.]

WESTGARTH, J. R. *Russian Engineer*. 223 pp. DA, 1934. [Very unfavourable account of conditions at Kuznetsk and of life in general; the author was in Russia as a consulting engineer in 1929-31. (With a correspondence with Bernard Shaw in the *Daily Express* and two addresses on Russia to members of the House of Commons in July 1932.)]

BEAL, F. E. *Word from Nowhere. The story of a fugitive from two worlds*. 288 pp. RH, 1937. [A depressing picture of conditions by an American Communist who fled to Russia and stayed there in 1930-1 and again in 1931-3, finally leaving after his complete disillusionment with the regime.]

KÖRBER, L. *Life in a Soviet Factory*. Transl. from the German by C. W. Sykes. 280 pp. LA, 1933. [The diary of a German journalist who had a temporary job in the Putilov works at Leningrad in July and Aug. 1931. Very interesting and sympathetic.]

SEYMOUR, J. *In the Moscow Manner*. 286 pp. DA, 1935.

[Unfavourable account of her experiences and those of her friends by the wife of a Canadian engineer who worked in Russia 1931-4.]

STROM, A. *Uncle Give us Bread*. Transl. from the Danish. 357 pp. AU, 1936. [Most unfavourable account of conditions by a Danish-American who took a job looking after a poultry farm and left in 1934. (The author seems to have made no effort to adjust himself to Russian ways or habits.)]

SMITH, A. *I was a Soviet Worker*. Supplemented by Maria Smith. 286 pp. RH, 1937. [Very unfavourable account, by an American Communist who worked in an electrical equipment factory from 1932 to 1935.]

FRANCIS, P. *I worked in a Soviet factory*. 256 pp. J, 1939. [An extremely interesting and well-balanced account of his experiences, both in the works and in a hospital and rest-house, by a young Englishman who worked as a fitter in a bakelite factory near Moscow for ten months in 1937.]

The following books are all more or less autobiographical, but throw some light on working conditions. The first four are by native Russians, the others by foreigners.

LARSONS, M. J. *An Expert in the Service of the Soviet*. Transl. A. S. Rappoport. 213 pp. BN, 1929. [By a Russian metallurgical expert who remained in Russia, attached to the Commissariat of Finance, till 1925. Important for currency questions, the disposal of Church valuables, foreign trade, and relations between experts and the Government.]

BUDBERG, BARON M. *Russian Seesaw*. 254 pp. MH, 1934. [The author was only a child in 1917, and escaped in the middle 'twenties to England after an adventurous life (arms smuggling to China, &c.). His autobiography gives a highly coloured description of life in the early 'twenties, but there is an irritating lack of dates and other precise information.]

TOLSTOY, COUNTESS A. *I worked for the Soviet*. Transl. by the author in collaboration with R. Yerkes. 254 pp.

- AU, 1935. [The life of Tolstoy's daughter, from 1917 to 1930. Very unfavourable; useful for education, since Yasnaya Poliana was run both as a museum and a school.]
- UNISHEVSKY, V. *Red Pilot. Memoirs of a Soviet airman.* Transl. by V. M. Macdonald. 260 pp. HB, 1939. [Violently prejudiced account of conditions in Soviet aviation and the motor industry. The author fled to Estonia in 1937.]
- WICKSTEED, A. *Life under the Soviets.* Introd. by B. Webb. 196 pp. LA, 1928. [Description of all aspects of life by an English Quaker who settled down in Moscow as an English teacher after doing relief work in the Famine.]
- DUNCAN, IRMA, and MACDOUGALL, A. R. *Isadora Duncan's Russian days, and her last years in France.* 384 pp. G, 1929. [An account of her last years, 1921-7, and her work in and views on Russia; mainly of personal interest. (The sequel to her autobiography, *My Life* [376 pp. G, 1928], which ended with her journey to Russia in 1921.)]
- FREEMAN, J. *An American Testament. A narrative of rebels and romantics.* 576 pp. G, 1938. [Contains some account of his life in Russia in 1926-7, when he worked as a translator at the headquarters of the Comintern. By an American Communist.]
- HIRD, J. W. *Under Czar and Soviet. My thirty years in Russia.* Foreword by A. F. Kerensky. 287 pp. HB, 1932. [Hostile but very general account of conditions by a British business man who was in Russia before the Revolution and up to 1931.]
- BRITNIEVA, M. *One Woman's Story.* 287 pp. BA, 1934. [Life and impressions of an Englishwoman married to a Russian doctor and living partly in England and partly in Russia between 1914 and 1930. (Its sequel, *A Stranger in Your Midst* [344 pp. BA, 1933], deals also with the period 1922-30, and with her life abroad 1930-5.)]
- MONKHOUSE, A. *Moscow, 1911-1933. Being the Memoirs of Allan Monkhouse.* 349 pp. G, 1933. [Very interesting and fair-minded memoirs of one of the British engineers involved in the 'Moscow Trial' of 1933. Particularly valuable on industrialisation.]

- STRONG, A. L. *I Change Worlds*. 422 pp. R, 1935. [Memoirs of a Left-Wing American journalist who went to Russia during the Famine and has lived there—apart from several prolonged visits abroad—ever since.]
- UNGER, H. *Hammer, Sickle and Baton. The Soviet Memoirs of a Musician*. Written in collaboration with N. Walford. 275 pp. Cresset Press, 1935. [A record of his personal experiences by a German who visited Russia regularly as a guest conductor between 1924 and 1937. Very critical, particularly of the earlier and later periods.]
- LANSBURY, V. *An Englishwoman in the USSR*. 325 pp. P, 1940. [A very favourable account of life and conditions in Russia (1925–38) by the daughter of George Lansbury; she married a Russian and settled in Russia, where she worked as a translator and in various other jobs.]

7. CURRENCY AND BANKING

- KATZENELLENBAUM, S. S. *Russian Currency and Banking, 1914–1924*. 198 pp. K, 1925. [Brief study, by a Professor of Economics at Moscow University, based on several works published by him (in Russian) in the preceding four years.]
- YUROVSKY, L. N. *Currency Problems and Policy of the Soviet Union*. 152 pp. Parsons, 1925. [Covers the period 1917–25. By the head of the Currency Dept. in the Commissariat of Finance.]
- SOKOLNIKOV, G. Y., and others. *Soviet Policy in Public Finance, 1917–28*. Transl. E. Varneck. Edited by L. Hutchinson and C. C. Plehn. 470 pp. Stanford Univ. Press, 1931. [Authoritative, though not impartial, study of finance in the Civil War, the NEP, the budgets of the 'twenties, &c. The chief author was Commissar of Finance from 1922 to 1925, and was responsible for the re-establishment of the currency; the other writers were all Soviet experts.]

There is a useful article by S. S. KATZENELLENBAUM on 'The Banking System of Russia' in H. P. WILLIS and B. H. BECK-

HART, *Foreign Banking Systems* (1305 pp. Holt, NY, 1929), pp. 893-954.

A valuable supplementary source for the period 1918-25 is M. J. LARSONS, *An Expert in the Service of the Soviet*.

Money, Prices and Gold in the Soviet Union. [By L. LAWTON and A. V. BAIKALOV.] SSS, Monograph No. 3. 32 pp. London, Nov. 1934. [Valuable, particularly with regard to gold resources. (On this subject see also LITTLEPAGE and BESS, *In Search of Soviet Gold*.)]

Banking and Credit in the Soviet Union. SSS, Monographs 4-5. 76 pp. London, Feb. 1935. [Useful brief study.]

REDDAWAY, W. B. *The Russian Financial System*. 106 pp. MM, 1935. [Short sketch, based mainly on information supplied by officials of the State Bank in Moscow in 1934.]

HUBBARD, L. E. *Soviet Money and Finance*. 339 pp. MM, 1936. [Valuable detailed study by an English expert with a good knowledge of both pre- and post-revolutionary Russia.]

ARNOLD, A. Z. *Banks, Credit and Money in Soviet Russia*. 559 pp. Columbia Univ. Press, NY, 1937. [The fullest and most comprehensive study in existence. Valuable bibl. of both Russian and non-Russian works.]

V. CULTURE AND SOCIAL LIFE

1. CULTURAL LIFE

a. GENERAL WORKS

- FÜLÖP-MILLER, R. *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism. An examination of cultural life in Soviet Russia.* Transl. from the German by F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait. 308 pp. P, 1927. [Journalistic but interesting and valuable account of the 'Weltanschauung' of Bolshevism and its reflection in art, music, philosophy, &c. (Very hostile, as the author considered that Bolshevism, in appealing to the masses, was the destroyer of culture; this view he further expounded in his book *Leaders, Dreamers, and Rebels. An account of the great mass-movements of history and of the wish-dreams that inspired them.* Transl. E. and C. Paul. 464 pp. HA, 1935.)]
- FREEMAN, J., KUNITZ, J., and LOZOWICK, L. *Voices of October: art and literature in Soviet Russia.* 317 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928. [Studies by competent American Communists with a first-hand knowledge of conditions in Russia.]
- Painting, Sculpture and Graphic Art in the USSR.* 155 pp. Voks Illustrated Almanac, Nos. 9-10. VOKS, Moscow, 1934. [Articles by Soviet experts. The illustrations are poor.]
- Art in the USSR.* Ed. by C. G. Holme. (Special Autumn number of *The Studio*.) 138 pp. The Studio, 1935. [Brief articles by Soviet experts on Soviet architecture, painting, theatre, cinema, &c. Chiefly valuable for its excellent illustrations.]
- LONDON, K. *The Seven Soviet Arts.* 381 pp. F, 1937. [Competent study of the arts in Soviet Russia, based on a visit and researches undertaken during 1935. Many illustrations.]
- Playtime in Russia.* By various authors. Ed. by H. Griffith. 249 pp. M, 1935. [Nine articles on the theatre, cinema,

sport, &c., mainly by English visitors. Readable but superficial.]

USSR Speaks for Itself: IV. Culture and Leisure. 96 pp. LW, 1941. [Brief articles by Soviet experts on science, the press, cinema, sport, &c.]

See also many of the books in III. 1. *a*, notably L. LAWTON, *The Russian Revolution, 1917-1926*, for culture in the early 'twenties, and several of the articles in *Twelve Studies in Soviet Russia* (1933) for the early 'thirties. Such periodicals as the *Anglo-Soviet Journal* contain many articles of value, notices of new advances in science, new stage productions, and so on. There is a little about the so-called 'Proletcult', which enjoyed a brief period of favour in the years immediately following the Revolution, in E. and C. PAUL, *Proletcult (Proletarian Culture)*. 159 pp. Parsons, 1921.

b. THE THEATRE

In addition to the books mentioned in this subsection, there are good studies of the theatre in those listed amongst 'General Works' above. A useful bibliography is provided by H. W. L. DANA, *Handbook on Soviet drama: lists of theatres, plays, operas, ballets, films, and books and articles about them* (158 pp. American-Russian Institute, NY, 1938).

SAYLER, O. *The Russian Theatre.* 364 pp. BR (US pr.), 1923. [The 2nd edn. of *The Russian Theatre under the Revolution* (273 pp. Little, Boston, 1920) with additional material collected since the author left Russia in 1918. Very valuable for pre-revolutionary theatre, but looks backward and lacks personal contact with later developments. Admirably illustrated.]

CARTER H. *The New Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia.* 278 pp. CD, 1924. [Study of developments and tendencies, perhaps over-emphasising their novel features. Well illustrated. (See also the section dealing with Russia in his book *The New Spirit in the European Theatre, 1914-1924. A comparative study of the changes effected by War and Revolution.* 292 pp. BN 1925.))]

- SAYLER O. M. *Inside the Moscow Art Theatre*. 240 pp. BR, NY, 1925. [Account of the Moscow Art Theatre, written after its American tour.]
- FÜLÖP-MILLER, R., and GREGOR, J. *The Russian Theatre. Its character and history, with special reference to the revolutionary period*. Transl. from the German by P. England. 136 pp. + 405 plates. HA (Germ. pr.), 1930. [Essentially a superb collection of plates of settings, &c., with two rather inadequate introductory essays.]
- CARTER, H. *The New Spirit in the Russian Theatre, 1917-1928*. 348 pp. BR, 1929. [Rewriting of his earlier book, with much greater knowledge and understanding. Good bibl., lists of plays produced each season, &c.]
- FLANAGAN, H. *Shifting Scenes of the Modern European Theatre*. 280 pp. HA (US pr.), 1929. [Over a third of the vol. deals with his stay in Russia and his contacts with leading theatrical personalities. Well illustrated.]
- The Moscow Theatre for Children. An album of photographs illustrating the work of the oldest professional theatre for children*. 96 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1934. [On the Children's Theatre see also A. LUNACHARSKY, 'The Bubnov Central House of Children's Arts Schools', *Soviet Culture*, No. 2 of 1934, pp. 23-8.]
- The Theatre in the USSR*. (Voks Illustrated Almanac, No. 6.) VOKS, Moscow, 1934. [A series of articles by Soviet experts—producers, actors, critics, &c.]
- MARKOV, P. A. *The Soviet Theatre*. (New Soviet Library, No. 3.) 176 pp. G, 1934. [Brief sketch by a leading Moscow producer.]
- HOUGHTON, N. *Moscow Rehearsals. An account of methods of production in the Soviet Theatre*. 313 pp. AU, 1938. [Detailed account of work in the Moscow theatres, based on six months' study in 1934-5 and a subsequent visit in 1937. Well illustrated.]

There are good articles by J. GREGOR and H. W. L. DANA in T. H. DICKINSON, *The Theatre in a Changing Europe* (492 pp. P [US pr.], 1938.)

STANISLAVSKY, C. *My Life in Art*. Transl. J. J. Robbins. 586 pp. Bles (US pr.), 1933. [Autobiography of the director of the Moscow Art Theatre; very brief and non-committal on the post-revolutionary period. (His work *An Actor Prepares* [Transl. E. R. Hapgood. 313 pp. Bles, 1936] is simply concerned with his views and methods, and says nothing about his relations with the Soviet regime.)]

NEMIROVITCH-DANCHENKO, V. *My Life in the Russian Theatre*. Transl. J. Cournos. 358 pp. Bles, 1936. [Recollections, almost entirely pre-revolutionary, of the manager of the Moscow Art Theatre.]

T. KOMISARJEVSKY'S *Myself and the Theatre* (205 pp. H, 1929) is mainly devoted to his own work in exile, but deals briefly with his experiences as a producer in Moscow in 1918-19 and has some comments on later developments in Russia.

CHALIAPIN, F. *Man and Mask. Forty Years in the Life of a Singer*. Transl. P. Mégroz. 413 pp. G, 1932. [Rather sketchy recollections, including his discomforts between the Revolution and his departure from Russia in 1922. (There is very little about this period in the second version of his autobiography, *Pages from my Life*. Transl. H. M. Buck. Revised, enlarged and ed. by K. Wright. 345 pp. HA, NY, 1927.)]

SCHWEZOFF, I. *Borzoï*. 441 pp. HS, 1935. [Autobiography of a Russian ballet dancer who escaped across the Manchurian frontier in 1930. Valuable for actual conditions in the theatre in the 'twenties, as well as for general conditions of life from 1914 onwards.]

c. THE CINEMA

There are good sections on the Soviet film in P. ROTH, *The Film till now. A Survey of the cinema* (362 pp. CA, 1930), and in M. BARDÈCHE and R. BRASILLACH, *History of the Film* (Transl. from the French by I. Barry. 428 pp. AU, 1938), and a little also in P. ROTH, *Documentary Film* (272 pp. F, 1936. 2nd edn. 320 pp. F, 1939). The two books of Huntly Carter referred to in the previous section, *The New*

Theatre and Cinema of Soviet Russia (1924) and *The New Spirit in the Russian Theatre, 1917-1928* (1929), are of great value; the second of them contains a list of films, with details of producers, actors, &c. The same author deals incidentally with the Soviet cinema in his book *The New Spirit in the Cinema* (403 pp. Shaylor, 1930). A useful bibliography is DANA's *Handbook on Soviet drama*, referred to in the preceding section. There are two French monographs on the film of the 'twenties: R. MARCHAND and P. WEINSTEIN, *L'Art dans la Russie nouvelle. I. Le Cinéma* (196 pp. Paris, 1927), and L. MOUSSINAC, *Le Cinéma soviétique* 222 pp. Paris, 1928).

Reproductions from Soviet films will be found in *Russische Filmkunst* (Preface by A. Kerr. 25 pp. + 144 plates. Pollak, Berlin, 1927), in *Der russische Revolutionsfilm* (Introd. by A. W. Lunatcharsky. 16 pp. + 67 plates. Zurich, 1929), in P. ROTH's *Movie Parade* (142 pp. The Studio, 1936), in *Art in the USSR* (1935), and elsewhere.

The following English works are important:

'BRYHER.' *Film Problems of Soviet Russia*. 140 pp. Territet (London pr.), 1929. [Full account, with many illustrations, of directors and the films produced in the 'twenties. Apparently based on material available outside Russia.]

PUDOVKIN, V. I. *On Film Technique. Three Essays and an Address*. Transl. and annotated by I. Montagu. 204 pp. G, 1929.

„ *Film Technique. Five Essays and two Addresses*. Transl. and annotated by I. Montagu. 18 + 204 pp. NS, 1933. [Studies in technique by one of the greatest of Soviet producers. (The 2nd edn. contains additional material.)]

„ *Film Acting. A course of lectures delivered at the State Institute of Cinematography, Moscow*. Transl. I. Montagu. 153 pp. N, 1935. [Studies in film acting, with illustrations from his films.]

NILSEN, V. *The Cinema as a Graphic Art. (On a theory of representation in the cinema.)* With an appreciation by S. M. Eisenstein. Transl. S. Garry, with editorial advice from I. Montagu. 227 pp. N, 1937. [Technical study

by a Soviet cameraman, with many illustrations from Soviet and other films.]

Soviet Cinema. Ed. A. Arossev. 312 pp. VOKS, Moscow, 1935. [Articles by Soviet producers, critics, &c., with numerous illustrations.]

General Suvorov. The Book of Pudovkin's Film. 23 pp. 'Soviet War News' Film Agency, 1942. [Mainly shots from the film, with notes by Pudovkin and others.]

d. MUSIC

There is not much literature in English, and virtually nothing that is up-to-date, on the subject of Soviet music.

SABANEYEFF, L. *Modern Russian Composers*. 253 pp. L, 1927. [A rather sketchy account, from Taneiev and Scriabin onwards, by a famous Russian critic who remained in Russia till 1925.]

SAMINSKY, L. *Music of our Day*. 313 pp. Crowell, NY, 1932. [Fairly adequate sections on post-revolutionary composers, and on Caucasian music.]

SLONIMSKY, N. *Music since 1900*. 590 pp. DT (US pr.), 1938. [Chronological list of important musical events in all countries from 1900 to Sept. 1937. Provides the only detailed guide in English to musical events in the USSR, with frequent quotations from programme notes, &c. Prints in an appendix the pronouncement 'Music and the Classes', formulated by the RAPM (Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians) in 1929. (The RAPM was dissolved in 1932).]

There are good biographies of a number of the younger Soviet composers in the Supplementary Volume (ed. H. C. Colles) to the 4th edn. of SIR GEORGE GROVE's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (688 pp. MM, 1940).

A very unfavourable picture of musical life between 1924 and 1937, or at least during the earlier and latter phases of this period, is given in H. UNGER, *Hammer, Sickle and Baton* (q.v.). For the years 1917-22, see also F. CHALIAPIN, *Man and Mask*.

Work of great importance has been done in the field of musical scholarship, notably in connection with Moussorgski's life and compositions. One may mention particularly V. BELAIEF, *Musorgsky's 'Boris Godunov' and its New Version* (Transl. S. W. Pring. 70 pp. OUP, 1928), an account of the history of the opera and its treatment by Rimsky-Korsakov, with analyses of the music and text. The only authentic versions (1869 and 1874) of the opera (Eng. and Fr. text; piano arrangement of score) were edited by Paul Lamm and published by the OUP, in collaboration with the Music Section of the Russian State Publishing Department, in 1928 (458 pp.; the English translation, by M. D. Calvocoressi, also separately: 58 pp. OUP, 1929). The new material available on the life and work of the earlier Russian composers has only been utilised in the most modern English works, such as G. ABRAHAM'S *Studies in Russian Music* and *On Russian Music* (355, 279 pp. Reeves, 1935, 1939), two volumes of essays on various composers and their work, and M. D. CALVOCORESSI and G. ABRAHAM, *Masters of Russian Music* (511 pp. D., 1936), a series of studies on every Russian composer of importance from Glinka to Scriabin. One may mention also C. D. BOWEN and BARBARA VON MECK, *Beloved Friend. The Story of Tchaikowsky and Nadejda von Meck* (480 pp. HN, 1937), a romantic biography based largely on the two volumes of correspondence published in Moscow in 1935. (The third volume, published in 1936, was not used, so the period after 1882 is inadequately covered. The co-author is the widow of Nadejda's favourite grandson, Vladimir von Meck.) An interesting contribution to the theory of music, by a young composer who died in 1922, is I. I. KRYZHANOVSKY, *The Biological Bases of the Evolution of Music* (Transl. S. W. Pring. Oxford Musical Essays. 60 pp. OUP, 1928).

e. LITERATURE

Most books on Russian literature end with the Revolution, but the following deal with the Soviet period:

MIRSKY, PRINCE D. S. *Contemporary Russian Literature, 1881-1925*. 372 pp. R, 1926. [The sequel to his *History of Russian Literature, from the earliest times to the death of*

Dostoevsky (388 pp. R, 1927). His judgments tend to excessive dogmatism, but the book is useful for the period immediately following the Revolution. Good bibl.]

STRUVE, G. *Soviet Russian Literature*. 270 pp. R, 1935. [The only detailed and comprehensive survey available; very critical, but extremely useful. Excellent bibl.— See also his many studies on individual writers and their works in the *Slavonic Review*, particularly from 1935 onwards.]

LAVRIN, J. *An introduction to the Russian novel*. 216 pp. M, 1942. [A good introductory survey; the last three chapters deal sympathetically with the post-revolutionary novel.]

The Literature of the Peoples of the USSR. 205 pp. Voks Illustrated Almanac, Nos. 7–8. VOKS, Moscow, 1934. [Articles on the literature of the Russians and other nationalities in the Soviet Union, with brief accounts of themselves by prominent writers and illustrative extracts from their works.]

PATRICK, G. Z. *Popular Poetry in Soviet Russia*. 289 pp. Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 1929. [Informative study of the attitude of peasants and town-workers to life, as revealed by Soviet 'folk-poetry'. Many translations and brief biographies of the authors represented.]

See also D. S. MIRSKY, 'The Soviet Russian Novel', in *Tendencies of the Modern Novel*, by HUGH WALPOLE and others (160 pp. AU, 1934).

TROTSKY, L. *Literature and Revolution*. Transl. R. Strunsky. 256 pp. AU, 1925. [Discussion of the place of literature in the Russian revolutionary movement and in a Communist society.]

EASTMAN, M. *Artists in Uniform: a Study of Literature and Bureaucracy*. 261 pp. AU, 1934. [An account of relations between authors and the Soviet Government up to 1932, with a well-informed and bitter attack on the 'bureaucratic' policy of the government. Prints in an appendix a translation of the section on 'Lenin's Views

of Art and Culture ' in V. Polonsky's book on the literature of the Revolutionary period.]

Problems of Soviet Literature. Reports and Speeches at the First Soviet Writers' Congress. Ed. H. G. Scott. 279 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1935. [Speeches by Zhdanov, Gorki, Bukharin, Radek and Stetsky, mainly on the social implications of literature.]

As examples of Marxist literary criticism one may mention :

NOVITSKY, P. I. *Cervantes and 'Don Quixote' ; a sociological interpretation.* Transl. by S. Volochova. (Critics' Group Series, No. 1.) 31 pp. Critics' Group, NY, 1936.

SMIRNOV, A. A. *Shakespeare. A Marxist interpretation.* Transl. from the 3rd Russian edn. (Critics' Group Series, No. 2.) 95 pp. Critics' Group, NY, 1936.

The standard Marxist criticism of the doctrine of 'art for art's sake' is G. V. PLEKHANOV, *Art and Society* (Transl. by A. Goldstein and others. Introd. by Granville Hicks. [Critics' Group Series, No. 3.] 94 pp. Critics' Group, NY, 1936).

On Maxim Gorki, in addition to the old work of E. J. DILLON (*Maxim Gorky. His Life and Writings.* 390 pp. Isbister, 1902), there are two studies.

KAUN, A. S. *Maxim Gorky and his Russia.* 620 pp. CA, 1932. [The best existing biography, though mainly devoted to his life and political contacts, and with little purely literary criticism.]

OLGIN, M. J. *Maxim Gorki, Writer and Revolutionist.* 64 pp. L (US pr.), 1933. [Brief sketch of his life and work by an American Communist, with an account of the celebration in 1932 of his forty years of literary activity.]

There are several anthologies of prose and verse :

Soviet Literature : an Anthology. By G. REAVEY and M. SLONIM. 480 pp. W, 1933. [Prose and verse extracts designed to illustrate trends in Soviet literature and the methods of Soviet authors. There is an admirable fifty-

page introduction by the editors, and a short biographical note on each writer represented.]

Bonfire: Stories out of Soviet Russia. An Anthology of Contemporary Russian Literature. Ed. S. Konovalov. 320 pp. BN, 1932. [Short stories and extracts (prose) from the work of 24 writers, selected in an attempt to illustrate life in the USSR through its literature. Various translations.]

[*Modern*] *Russian Poetry. An Anthology.* Chosen and transl. by B. Deutsch and A. Yarmolinsky. 200 pp. LA, 1923. 2nd edn. 254 pp. L, 1929. [An admirable representative selection, from Pushkin to the present day; 35 new poems are added in the 2nd edn., and Blok's *The Twelve* is transl. in full. Biographical notes on authors.]

Only a few examples of post-revolutionary verse are included in *Russian Poems* (Transl. C. F. Coxwell. Introd. by D. S. Mirsky. 306 pp. DA, 1929).

Several collections of short stories are available :

Flying Osip: Stories of New Russia. Transl. L. S. Friedland and J. R. Piroshnikoff. 318 pp. U, 1925. [Contains KASATKIN, *Flying Osip*; SHISHKOV, *A Theatrical Performance in the Hamlet of Ogryzovo*; PILNIAK, *Leather Jackets*; SEIFULINA, *The Law-breakers*; IVANOV, *The 'Merican* and *On the Rails*; AROSEV, *The Soldiers and Lenin*; KOLOSOV, *Thirteen*; SEMENOV, *Hunger*; ZOZULYA, *A Mere Trifle*. Brief introd. by A. Chramov.]

Azure Cities: Stories of New Russia. Transl. J. J. Robbins. Ed. J. Kunitz. 320 pp. MB, 1929. [Contains A. TOLSTOY, *Azure Cities*; IVANOV, *The Baby*; NEVEROV, *Marya the Bolshevik*; SHISHKOV, *Cranes*; VOLKOV, *The Miracle*; ROMANOV, *Black Fritters*; SEIFULINA, *The Old Woman*; PILNIAK, *The Law of the Wolf*; BABEL, *The Letter*; ZOSHCHENKO, *Gold Teeth*; LIASHKO, *The Song of the Chains*; SHAGINIAN, *Three Looms*; LIDIN, *Youth*. Brief introd. and biographical notes on the authors represented.]

Short Stories out of Soviet Russia. Transl. J. Cournos. 206 pp. DT, 1929, 1932. [Contains LEONOV, *Ivan's Misadventure*;

A. TOLSTOY, *The Affair on the Basseyayna Street and A White Night*; BABEL, *The Letter, Salt, and The Death of Dolgushov*; IVANOV, *When I was a Fakir and The Child*; SERGEEV-TZENSKY, *The Man you Couldn't Kill*; PILNIAK, *The Human Wind*; LIDIN, *Glaciers*; ZOZULYA, *A Tale about Ak and Humanity and The Mother*; KATAEV, *Fellow-Countrymen*; ALEXEEV, *Other Eyes*; PRISHVIN, *A Werewolf of the Steppe*.]

Soviet Short Stories. ('Life and Literature in the Soviet Union.') Ed. I. Montagu and H. Marshall. 154 pp. PP, 1942. [Contains Y. OLESHA, *The Cherry Stone*; A. PLATONOV, *The Third Son*; I. EHRENBURG, *New Short Stories*; V. ARDOV, *Happy Ending*; V. LIDIN, *Hamlet*; Y. TINYANOV, *Second Lieutenant Also*; A. ISBACH, *The Parcel*; T. KERASH, *Trial by Elders*; M. ZOSHCHENKO, *Dawn of the New Day*; K. PAVSTOVSKY, *The Sailmaker*.]

Seven Soviet short stories are included in *Great Russian Short Stories* (Ed. S. Graham. 1021 pp. BN, 1929). They are P. ROMANOV, *Without Cherry Blossom*; B. PILNIAK, *His Majesty, Kneeb Piter Komondor*; I. BABEL, *Life and Adventures of Matvey Pavlitchenko*; M. ZOSHCHENKO, *The Old Rat*; G. ALEXEEV, *Diphtheria*; A. OKULOV, *The Unexpected Meeting*; V. KATAEV, *Things*.

There are two collections of plays.

Four Soviet Plays. Ed. Ben Blake. 427 pp. LW, 1937. [GORKI, *Yegor Bulichov and Others*; VISHNEVSKY, *An Optimistic Tragedy*; POGODIN, *The Aristocrats*; KOCHERGA, *Masters of Time*.—*The Aristocrats* is translated by H. G. Scott and R. S. Carr, the others by A. Wixley.]

Six Soviet Plays. Ed. E. Lyons. 608 pp. G, 1935. [BULGAKOV, *Days of the Turbins*; KATAEV, *Squaring the Circle*; POGODIN, *Tempo*; GLEBOV, *Inga*; AFINOGENIEV, *Fear*; KIRSHON, *Bread*.]

One Soviet play, V. V. MAYAKOVSKY's 'Mystery-Bouffe' (1922), is included in *Masterpieces of the Russian Drama*, selected and edited by G. R. Noyes (902 pp. Appleton, NY, 1938).

The periodical *International Literature* (International Union of Revolutionary Writers; Moscow, 1934 onwards; bi-monthly, 160 pp. each number) contains stories, poems, essays, reviews, &c., many of them by Soviet authors.

On the subject of the press there is a good, but brief, study : M. JARYC, *Press and Publishing in the Soviet Union* (SSS, Monograph No. 6. 24 pp. 1935). Some information is also available in *Cultural Development of the USSR : Press and Book Production* (15 pp. ARPC, 1929). The most considerable study of the subject is that of A. W. JUST, *Die Presse der Sowjetunion* (304 pp. Duncker, Berlin, 1931), prepared under the auspices of the German Institute of Journalism. It is of course now somewhat out-of-date.

f. HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY

There are two important studies of the changes in outlook on historical work in Soviet Russia : S. R. TOMKINS, 'Trends in Communist Historical Thought', *Slavonic Review*, xiii (1934-5), pp. 294-315, and B. H. SUMNER, 'Soviet History', *Ibid.*, xvi (1937-8), 601-15; xvii (1938-9), pp. 151-61. The standard works on Russian history which were current in Russia during the greater part of the period were :

POKROVSKY, M. N. *History of Russia from the earliest times to the rise of commercial capitalism*. Transl. and ed. J. D. Clarkson and M. R. M. Griffiths. 383 pp. L (US pr.), 1931. [= Vols. I and II of his *History of Russia*, to the death of Peter II in 1730. Written in the pre-revolutionary period.]

„ *Brief History of Russia*. Transl. D. S. Mirsky. 2 vols. 295, 348 pp. L, 1933. [Down to the Stolypin land reforms. Transl. from the 10th Russian edn., 1931.]

A. A. SHESTAKOV'S *History of Russia* (1938), which superseded that of Pokrovsky, is not available in English.

The following, though all pre-Bolshevik in date, must be regarded as standard works :

- PLEKHANOV, G. V. *Fundamental Problems of Marxism*. Ed. D. Ryazanov. Transl. E. and C. Paul. 145 pp. L, 1929. [Contains also his paper on 'Sudden Changes in Nature and History' and his 'Dialectic and Logic'.]
 „ *Essays in the History of Materialism*. Transl. R. Fox. 288 pp. LA, 1939. [Essays on Holbach, Helvétius and Marx, publ. in 1896.]
 „ *The Materialist Conception of History*. 60 pp. LW, 1940. [Orig. publ. 1897.]
 „ *The Role of the Individual in History*. 62 pp. LW, 1940.

The publication of material from the Archives began with the printing of the so-called 'Secret Treaties' in November 1917, and was continued in subsequent years, though in a rather haphazard fashion and more with the object of discrediting the Tsarist regime than of stimulating historical research. Part of this material is available in English.

- The Secret Treaties and Understandings*. Text of the available documents, with introductory commentary and explanatory notes by F. S. Cocks. Preface by C. Trevelyan. 94 pp. UDC, 1918. [The best collection, including diplomatic correspondence, &c., in addition to the actual text of the treaties, and with a useful commentary by the editor. (The texts are mainly repr. from the *Manchester Guardian*, which reproduced such documents as were printed in *Izvestia* from Nov. 1917 onwards.)]
- The Secret Agreements*. With a preface by C. R. Buxton, and nine maps. 19 pp. Nat. Lab. Press, 1919. [Collection of all docs. publ. between Nov. 1917 and Feb. 1918, repr. from the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Cambridge Magazine*.]
- How the War began in 1914. Being the diary of the Russian Foreign Office from the 3rd to the 20th (Old Style) of July, 1914*. Transl. W. C. Bridge. Foreword to transl. by S. D. Sazonov. Introd. by Baron M. F. Schilling. 122 pp. AU, 1925. [The diary of Baron Schilling, published in *Krasny Arkhiv*, iv, 1923.]
- The Red Archives. Russian State Papers and other documents relating to the years 1915-18*. Sel. and ed. by C. E.

Vulliamy. Transl. A. L. Hynes. Introd. C. T. Hagberg Wright. 320 pp. Bles, 1929. [Useful and well edited selection of several groups of docs. from *Krasny Arkhiv*.]

A French collection, mainly from the same source and covering Russian relations with the Balkans and Italy, is the volume of *Documents diplomatiques secrets russes, d'après les Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères à Pétrograd* (Trad. par J. Polonsky. 336 pp. Paris, 1928).

In March 1917 Kerensky set up a commission to examine the chief officials and supporters of the Tsarist regime, and the full verbatim record of their depositions, published at Leningrad in 7 volumes between 1924 and 1927, forms a collection of material of the greatest value. A well-selected abridgement of this is available in French: *La Chute du régime tsariste. Interrogatoires des Ministres, Conseillers, Généraux, Hauts Fonctionnaires de la Cour Impériale russe par la Commission extraordinaire du Gouvernement provisoire de 1917* (Preface by V. A. Maklakov. Transl. J. Polonsky. 592 pp. Paris, 1927).

The following documents relating to the Imperial family have been published:

The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar. Copied from Government Archives in Petrograd, and brought from Russia by I. D. Levine. Ed. with introduction by I. F. Grant. 281 pp. HS, 1921. [Correspondence from 1894 to 1914, with useful notes.]

The Letters of the Tsar to the Tsaritsa, 1914-1917. Transl. A. L. Hynes. Ed. by C. E. Vulliamy. Introd. by C. T. Hagberg Wright. 324 pp. LA, 1929. [Telegrams and letters, from 20 June 1914 to 7 March 1917. Reproduces the substance of the letters, not the actual words, since it is a transl. back into English, in which language the letters were written, of the Russian text of Pokrovsky. Excellent notes.]

Letters of the Tsaritsa to the Tsar, 1914-1916. Introd. by Sir B. Pares. 43 + 478 pp. D, 1923. [Original text. The letters run from 27 April 1914 to 17 Dec. 1916. Good introduction.]

Letters of the Tsar Nicholas and Empress Marie. Ed. E. J. Bing. 311 pp. NW, 1937. [Selection of the confidential correspondence between Nicholas II and his mother; chiefly important for the early history of the reign, and for his character and views. The last letter is dated Dec. 1917.]

Some are only available in French:

Journal intime de Nicolas II. Trad. par A. Pierre. 303 pp. Paris, 1925. [Selections.]

Journal intime de Nicolas II (juillet 1914–juillet 1918). Trad. par M. Bénouville et A. Kaznakov. 223 pp. Paris 1924. [Complete diary from 1 July 1914 to 30 June 1918, together with a brief journal from 1 Jan. to 4 May 1918 kept by some personage in the Imperial entourage at Tobolsk.]

Archives secrètes de l'Empereur Nicolas II. Trad. et annoté par V. Lazarevski. 251 pp. Paris, 1928. [Correspondence of Nicholas II with his mother in 1905–6, together with various docs. of 1915–16.]

Lettres des Grands-Ducs à Nicolas II. 272 pp. Paris, 1926. [Useful collection.]

There would be no object in giving here any indication of the various lines of study pursued by Soviet historians since the Revolution, since most of their work is not available in English, or is so only in the form of abstracts in historical periodicals. (Two useful bibliographies are A. FLOROVSKY, 'La Littérature historique soviétique russe (1921–1931)', in *Bull. d'information des sciences historiques en Europe orientale* (Warsaw), vols. vi, vii, 1934, 1935, and the series of excellent detailed bibliographical articles by P. Vostokov in *Le Monde Slave*, 1930 and ff.) Memoirs and historical works dealing with the Soviet period itself are referred to elsewhere, in their appropriate places, in this bibliography. But the following miscellaneous memoirs and historical works, not otherwise referred to, may be mentioned here:

BADAYEV, A. *The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma.* 250 pp. L, 1933. [Personal recollections of the Fourth Duma

(1912-14), of which the author was a member. Written in 1929.]

BOBROVSKAIA, C. *The First President of the Republic of Labour. A Short Biographical Sketch of the Life and Work of Y. M. Sverdlov.* 32 pp. MB, 1932. [Brief popular biography.]

„ Ivan Babushkin. *A Short Biography.* 31 pp. MB, 1932. [Brief biography of a revolutionary who was killed in 1906.]

The Founding of the First International (Sept.-Nov. 1864). A Documentary Record. Ed. L. E. Mins. (Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow.) 96 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1939. [Useful docs.]

KATASHEVA, L. *Natasha. A Bolshevik Woman Organizer.* 63 pp. MB, 1934. [Biographical sketch of K. N. Samoilova (died 1921).]

KEDROV, M. S. *Book Publishing under Tzarism. (The 'Zerno' Publishing House.)* 39 pp. MB, 1932. [Publication of revolutionary literature 1906-10, by the former manager of the 'Zerno' House.]

KOHN, F. *Escape from the Gallows.* 47 pp. MB, 1932. [Personal experiences in Poland, 1905-6.]

LOZOVSKY, A. *Marx and the Trade Unions.* (Marxist-Leninist Library, No. 13.) 188 pp. L, 1935. [Detailed study.]

MALYSHEV, S. *Unemployed Councils in St Petersburg in 1906.* 51 pp. MB, 1931. [Personal recollections of one of their organisers.]

[MATUSHENKO, A.] *The Revolt of the Armoured Cruiser 'Potemkin'.* 28 pp. MB, 1931. [The recollections of the torpedo quartermaster, with Lenin's comments on the mutiny.]

NIKIFOROV, P. *The Strike of the Dredging Fleet, 1905.* 46 pp. MB, 1931. [By one of its organisers.]

NOVIKOV-PRIBOY, A. S. *Tsushima.* Transl. E. and C. Paul. 425 pp. AU, 1936. [Detailed account, by a participant, of the great battle in which Rozhdestvensky's fleet was annihilated.]

NOVITZKY, MAJ.-GEN. V. *Russia and the Allies in the Great War.* Preface by Col. [C. L'E.] Malone. 87 pp. Kniga,

1925. [Memorandum, dated Feb. 1922, by a Professor at the State Military Academy, on the help given by Russia to the Allies and the impossibility of her carrying on the war in 1917.]
- OBOLENSKAIA, R. *Kamo. The Life of a Great Revolutionist*. 89 pp. MB, 1932. [Popular biography of a famous Georgian revolutionary.]
- STEKLOV, G. M. *History of the First International*. Transl. from the 3rd Russian edn., with notes from the 4th, by E. and C. Paul. 480 pp. L, 1928. [Standard work, completed in Jan. 1918.]
- TCHERNOMORDIK, S. *The Bolsheviks on Trial*. 46 pp. MB, 1932. [The attitude of Bolsheviks to the Tsarist courts.]
- YAROSLAVSKY, E. *History of Anarchism in Russia*. 126 pp. LW (US pr.), 1937. [Up to about 1924.]

On archeology and kindred topics, there is a volume of more or less popular studies by Soviet experts entitled *Ethnography, Folklore and Archeology in the USSR* (Voks Illustrated Almanac, No. 4. [?] pp. VOKS, Moscow, 1934), but the best guide will be found in a series of articles in the *American Anthropologist*, the first of which, by E. GOLOMSHTOK (xxxv, 1933, pp. 301-27), covers in a summary way the work done between the Revolution and 1932, while subsequent ones, by H. FIELD and E. PROSTOV, survey the work of each few years in greater detail (xxxviii, 1936, pp. 260-90; xxxix, 1937, pp. 457-90; xl, 1938, pp. 653-79; xlii, 1940, pp. 211-35). Another important article is that of A. M. TALLGREN, 'Archaeological Studies in Soviet Russia', in *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* (Helsinki), x, 1936, pp. 129-70, dealing with the condition of museums in 1935 and the work of the previous few years.

On the important work done in the cleaning and repairing of icons and other works of art, the best brief study is that of PROF. GRABAR in the superbly illustrated volume of *Masterpieces of Russian Painting* (Ed. M. Farbman. Text by A. I. Anisimov, Sir M. Conway, R. Fry and I. Grabar. 125 pp., 60 plates. Europa Publ., 1930); one may also mention N.

LEVINSON, 'The Restoration of Old Russian Paintings', *Slavonic Review*, iii, 1924, pp. 350-5, and E. H. MINNS, 'The Exhibition of Icons at the Victoria and Albert Museum', *ibid.*, viii, 1929-30, pp. 627-35. R. BYRON'S *First Russia—then Tibet* (q.v.) is largely devoted to the subject of Russian art, chiefly the churches and icons of Novgorod, Yaroslavl and Kiev. There are also the following:

POLOVTSOFF, A. *Les trésors d'art en Russie sous le régime bolcheviste*. 295 pp. Paris, 1919. [Important for the events of the first year, but difficult to use owing to the lack of an index. By an official of the Foreign Office who left Russia in Oct. 1918.]

CONWAY, SIR M. *Art Treasures in Soviet Russia*. 284 pp. AR, 1925. [Account of a visit in 1924 to see the art treasures of Leningrad and Moscow.]

An excellent bibliographical survey of work done between 1917 and 1930 on the subject of early Russian art will be found in VOSTOKOV'S articles, 'Les travaux soviétiques sur l'art russe ancien', *Le Monde Slave*, 1938, ii, 62-87, 438-66, iii, 120-8.

2. SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY

a. GENERAL WORKS

CROWTHER, J. G. *Soviet Science*. 342 pp. KP, 1936. [Admirable account of the work being done and the conditions of research in Soviet scientific institutes. Based on several visits and contacts with Soviet scientists.]

Science in the USSR. (Voks Illustrated Almanac, No. 5.) [?] pp. VOKS, Moscow. [Articles and studies by Soviet scientists.]

Science at the Cross Roads. [236 pp.] Kniga, 1931. [Eleven papers contributed by the Russian delegates to the International Congress on the History of Science and Technology in London, July, 1931. They are: (1) N. BUKHARIN, 'Theory and Practice from the standpoint of Dialectical Materialism', 23 pp.; (2) A. F. JOFFE, 'Physics and Technology', 4 pp.; (3) M. RUBINSTEIN, 'Relations of

Science, Technology and Economics under Capitalism and in the Soviet Union', 24 pp.; (4) B. ZAVADOVSKY, 'The "Physical" and "Biological" in the process of organic evolution', 12 pp.; (5) E. COLMAN, 'Dynamic and statistical regularity in physics and biology', 12 pp.; (6) N. I. VAVILOV, 'The problem of the origin of the world's agriculture in the light of the latest investigations', 10 pp.; (7) M. T. MITKEVICH, 'The work of Faraday and modern developments in the application of electrical energy', 4 pp.; (8) M. RUBINSTEIN, 'Electrification as the basis of technical reconstruction in the Soviet Union', 31 pp.; (9) B. HESSEN, 'The social and economic roots of Newton's "Principia"', 62 pp.; (10) E. COLMAN, 'The present crisis in the mathematical sciences and general outline for their reconstruction', 15 pp.; (11) E. COLMAN, 'Short communication on the unpublished writings of Karl Marx dealing with mathematics, the natural sciences, technology, and the history of these subjects', 3 pp.—These papers were also published separately.]

Marxism and Modern Thought. By N. I. BUKHARIN and others. Transl. R. Fox. 342 pp. R, 1935. [Six studies (with notes): N. I. BUKHARIN, 'Marx's Teaching and its Historical Importance'; A. M. DEBORIN, 'Karl Marx and the Present'; Y. M. URANOVSKY, 'Marxism and Natural Science'; S. I. VAVILOV, 'The Old and the New Physics'; V. L. KOMAROV, 'Marx and Engels on Biology'; A. I. TIUMENEV, 'Marxism and Bourgeois Historical Science'.]

See also the books on technical education in V. 3. a. JULIAN HUXLEY's *A Scientist among the Soviets* (1932) gives some good general impressions. The second volume of I. P. PAVLOV's *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes* contains some brief tributes by the author to the position of science in the USSR. See also PROF. Y. P. FROLOV, *Pavlov and his School. The Theory of Conditioned Reflexes* (Transl. C. P. Dutt. 291 pp. KP, 1937).

Among Soviet scientific works of various kinds which have been translated into English one may mention the following, though the list is in no way exhaustive:

- PAVLOV, I. P. *Conditioned Reflexes. An Investigation of the Physiological Activity of the Cerebral Cortex.* Transl. and ed. by G. V. Anrep. 480 pp. OUP, 1927.
- „ *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes. 25 years of Objective Study of the Higher Nervous Activity (Behaviour) of Animals.* Transl. [with a biographical note] by W. H. Gantt, with the collaboration of G. Volborth. 414 pp. L (US pr.), 1929.
- „ *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes.* Vol. II. *Conditioned Reflexes and Psychiatry.* Transl. and ed. by W. H. Gantt. 199 pp. LW (US pr.), 1941.
- BEKHTEREV, V. M. *General Principles of Human Reflexology. An Introduction to the Objective Study of Personality.* Transl. from the 4th edn. [1928] by E. and W. Murphy. 467 pp. J, 1933.
- FROLOV, PROF. Y. *Fish who answer the telephone, and other studies in experimental biology.* Transl. S. Graham. 168 pp. KP, 1937.
- Proceedings of the 15th International Physiological Congress, Leningrad-Moscow, August 9-16, 1935.* (= The Sechenov Journal of Physiology of the USSR, xxi, Nos. 5-6.) 639 pp. State Biological and Medical Press, Moscow-Leningrad, 1938.

b. MEDICINE

- HAINES, A. J. *Health Work in Soviet Russia.* 177 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928. [The best account of the work of the 'twenties.]
- NEWSHOLME, SIR A., and KINGSBURY, DR. J. A. *Red Medicine. Socialized Health in Soviet Russia.* 324 pp. H, 1934. [Somewhat uncritical, but of great value. Based on a prolonged visit by two experts on public health organisation.]
- SEMASHKO, N. A. *Health Protection in the USSR.* 176 pp. G, 1934. [Good summary by a former People's Commissar of Health.]
- WILLIAMS, DR F. E. *Soviet Russia fights Neurosis.* 251 pp. R, 1934. [A general discussion, by an American psychiatrist, of the effect of the lack of sexual frustrations and

feeling of financial insecurity on the mental health of Soviet citizens.]

CLARK, F. LE GROS, and BRINTON, L. N. *Men, Medicine and Food in the USSR*. 173 pp. LW, 1936. [A careful study of the development of medical and food services in the USSR—dietetics, food production, malnutrition, &c. (Good bibl. of English and Russian books.)]

SIGERIST, DR H. L. *Socialised Medicine in the Soviet Union*. Foreword by S. Webb. 397 pp. G, 1937. [The best account of the organisation of medical work and research ; the author has thoroughly studied the literature on the subject in Russian and other languages, and visited Russia for long periods. Useful refs. to further literature.]

BLACK, DR E. *Health and Medicine in Soviet Russia*. ('Russia has a Plan' Series, No. 5.) 16 pp. RTS, 1941. [Brief introduction.]

Soviet Medicine and Public Health. [By R. CLARKE and others.] 20 pp. SCR, 1942. Seven articles repr. from the *Post-Graduate Medical Journal*, Jan. 1942.

See also V. 4, 'Woman in the USSR'. There are some notes on hospital conditions in 1932 in SIR J. PURVES-STEWART, *A Physician's Tour in Soviet Russia* (1933). Information can also be found in such works as the *International Health Year Book* (League of Nations) and the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the League of Nations Health Organization, and there are occasional articles in the *Anglo-Soviet Journal* and in such technical periodicals as the *Lancet*, the *British Medical Journal*, the *Eugenics Review*, &c.

C. PHILOSOPHY, SOCIOLOGY, AND ECONOMICS

The following list contains only those writings not referred to elsewhere in this bibliography. For the works of Lenin see III. 8, for those of Bukharin see III. 11. a. and for those of Plekhanov see V. 1. f.

VARGA, E. *The Decline of Capitalism*. 69 pp. CP, 1924. [Essentially a rewriting, with additional evidence and statistics, of the brochure which he and Trotsky presented to the Third Congress of the Comintern (q.v.). (Varga is

Director of the Institute of World Economy and Politics at Moscow.]]

VARGA, E. *The Decline of Capitalism. The Economics of a Period of the Decline of Capitalism after Stabilisation.* 126 pp. CP, 1928. [Complete rewriting of earlier work, with statistics up to the end of 1927.]

„ *The Great Crisis and its Political Consequences. Economics and Politics, 1928-1934.* 175 pp. MB, 1934. [A continuation of the previous work.]

„ *Two Systems: Socialist Economy and Capitalist Economy.* Transl. from the German by R. Page Arnot. 268 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1939. [Detailed comparative study of both systems in the past two decades.]

„ , and MENDELSSOHN, L. *New Data for V. I. Lenin's 'Imperialism: the highest stage of Capitalism'.* 320 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1939. [The full text of Lenin's work, with the additional matter printed on the pages facing the relevant sections of the text.]

„ *The Imperialist Struggle for a New Redivision of the World.* ('Labour Monthly' War Pamphlets, No. 1.) 11 pp. Labour Monthly, 1941. [Article reprinted from the *Labour Monthly*, xxii, 1940, pp. 578-87.]

RIAZANOV, D. *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.* 224 pp. L (US pr.), 1927. [Lectures by the founder of the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow.]

„ (ed.) *Karl Marx. Man, Thinker and Revolutionist. A Symposium.* 282 pp. L, 1927. [A collection of short articles and studies by well-known Marxists.]

Riazanov also wrote the preface to PLEKHANOV'S *Fundamental Problems of Marxism* (1929). A few pages on Riazanov and the early history of the Marx-Engels Institute, and life in Moscow in 1927-8, will be found in M. BEER, *Fifty Years of International Socialism* (289 pp. AU, 1935).

ADORATSKY, V. *Dialectical Materialism.* 96 pp. L, 1933. [Traces the growth of the philosophy of dialectical materialism from the time of Marx and Engels to the present. By the director of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.]

Adoratsky also wrote the preface to K. MARX and F. ENGELS, *Correspondence, 1846-1895. A selection, with commentary and notes.* (Transl. D. Torr. 551 pp. LW, 1934.)

A Textbook of Marxist Philosophy. Prepared by the Leningrad Institute of Philosophy under the direction of M. Shirokov. Transl. A. C. Moseley. Revised and ed. by J. Lewis. 399 pp. G, 1937. [The historical introduction to Marxist philosophy and to the theory of knowledge has been re-written by Dr. Lewis.]

BOGDANOV, A. *A Short Course of Economic Science.* Rev. and suppl. by S. M. Dvolaitsky, in conjunction with the author. Transl. J. Fineberg. 406 pp. LPC, 1923. [Standard text-book.]

LEPIDUS, I., and OSTROVITYANOV, K. *An Outline of Political Economy. Political Economy and Soviet Economics.* 546 pp. L, 1929. [Text-book of economics, with analysis of various forms of production in the USSR.]

LEONTIEV, A. *Political Economy. A Beginner's Course.* 285 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1935. [Text-book.]

PAVLOVITCH, M. *The Foundations of Imperialist Policy.* 159 pp. LPC, 1922. [A course of lectures given before the Academy of the General Staff in 1918-19.]

HECKER, J. F. *Moscow Dialogues. Discussions in Red Philosophy.* 285 pp. CH, 1933. [Sketch of Communism as a basis for human life and politics in the form of imaginary dialogues with an American.]

„ *The Communist's Answer to the World's Needs.* 323 pp. CH, 1935. [Imaginary dialogues in which Communism is explained to representatives of various shades of English opinion.]

„ *Russian Sociology.* 313 pp. CH, 1934. [A study of Russian social philosophy and philosophers, mainly of the pre-revolutionary period.]

The works of N. Berdyaev cannot be classed as Soviet philosophy, but one may note that *The Meaning of History* (Transl. G. Reavey. 224 pp. Bles, 1936) is a course of lectures delivered in 1919-20, while the author was still in

Russia, and that Soviet philosophy and the Revolution of 1917 are discussed in *The End of Our Time, together with an essay on the General Line of Soviet Philosophy* (258 pp. SW, 1933).

3. EDUCATION

a. BOOKS

(arranged according to date of publication)

LUNACHARSKY, A. W. *Les problèmes de l'instruction publique en régime soviétique*. [?] pp. Paris, 1925. [The best expression of the experimentalism of the 'twenties, with some account of the actual achievements and difficulties of the situation. By the Commissar for Education.]

NEARING, SCOTT. *Education in Soviet Russia*. 160 pp. Plebs League (US pr.), 1926. [Good study of the position in the middle 'twenties by an American Left-Wing sociologist. Based on wide reading and investigations on a visit of two months.]

WILSON, L. L. W. *The New Schools of New Russia*. 250 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928. [Good general survey of the position in the late 'twenties.]

Schools, Teachers and Scholars in Soviet Russia. Foreword by W. T. Goode. 82 pp. WN, 1929. [Brief account, based on information collected by a delegation from the Teachers' Labour League. (Brief bibl. of works in English, including magazine articles.)]

See also the account by the American educationist John Dewey in his *Impressions of Soviet Russia* (1929), and the chapters on Soviet Education by G. S. COUNTS and C. WASHBURN in *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade* (1928). HARPER'S *Civic Training in Soviet Russia* (1929) is also useful.

The *Diary of a Communist Schoolboy* and *Diary of a Communist Undergraduate*, novels by 'N. OGNYOV'—M. G. ROZANOV, an experienced Soviet teacher—admirably depict the experimentalism of the 'twenties; the first is in the form of a diary of the school year in 1923-4, the second a diary of university life in 1925-6. LIDIN'S novel *The Apostate* also deals with student life in Moscow in the late 'twenties.

- PINKEVICH, A. *The New Education in the Soviet Republic*. 403 pp. WN, 1930. [Valuable exposition of educational theories and policy by a professor of education at Moscow University.]
- HANS, N., and HESSEN, S. *Educational Policy in Soviet Russia*. 236 pp. K, 1930. [Very critical study by two emigré educational experts who had lived under the Soviet regime. Brief bibl.]
- WOODY, T. *New Minds: New Men? The Emergence of the Soviet Citizen*. 528 pp. MM (NY), 1932. [Full and detailed study of principles and methods by an American expert. Admirable bibl.]
- CROWTHER, J. G. *Industry and Education in the Soviet Union*. 94 pp. H, 1932. [A study of technical education, with important statistics, comments, &c., based on material collected during a visit in October 1930. With other notes on his visit.]
- There is a brief article by A. PINKEVICH, 'The University in Soviet Russia', in *The University in a Changing World*, ed. W. M. Kotschnig and E. Prys (284 pp. OUP, 1932).
- The School in the USSR*. Voks Illustrated Almanac, Nos. 1-2. 179 pp. Moscow, 1933.
- The Higher School in the USSR*. Voks Illustrated Almanac, No. 3. [?] pp. Moscow, 1933.
- Series of articles by Soviet experts. Very useful.
- MEHNERT, K. *Youth in Soviet Russia*. Transl. from the German. 270 pp. AU, 1933. [An account of youth and its activities by a Russian-born German; based on personal observations and contacts on several visits.]
- SPAULL, H. *The Youth of Russia today*. 168 pp. NW, 1933. [Rather superficial attempt to explain to older children in England the education and outlook of children in Russia. Based on visits.]
- PINKEVICH, A. P. *Science and Education in the USSR*. 176 pp. G, 1935. [General survey of the whole educational system, with special reference to higher education and scientific research.]

- KING, B. *Changing Man : the Education System of the USSR*. 319 pp. G, 1936. [Full and detailed but rather uncritical study. Based on many visits and contacts.]
- FEDIAEVSKY, V., and HILL, P. S. *Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia*. 265 pp. KP, 1936. [Detailed study, by a Soviet and an American expert. (Long and valuable bibliography of Russian and English works.)]
- LEVIN, D. *Children in Soviet Russia*. 196 pp. F, 1942. [Very favourable account of Soviet educational methods by a teacher who had worked in a school (run on Soviet lines) for the children of foreigners in Moscow.]

The issue of *USSR in Construction* for August 1940 is devoted to the topic of education.

b. PAMPHLETS

(arranged according to date of publication)

- KURELLA, A. *The Five-Year Plan and the Cultural Revolution*. (USSR Information Series, No. 1.) 45 pp. MB, 1931. [Describes projected developments in education, &c.]
- CHARQUES, R. D. *Soviet Education. Some Aspects of Cultural Revolution*. (Day to Day Pamphlets, No. 12.) 48 pp. HP, 1932. [Good popular account.]
- Soviet Education as we saw it*. 19 pp. Guildford, 1932. [Summary of conclusions of a party of 35 teachers who visited the Soviet Union in 1932.]
- HARRISON, C. A. *The Broad Highway of Soviet Education*. 31 pp. SCR, 1934. [Informative pamphlet, based on a tour by British teachers in 1934. Preface and notes by Beatrice King.]
- Youth in the Soviet Union*. 12 pp. MB, 1936. [Pamphlet on various activities of Soviet youth.]
- KING, B. *Soviet Education. Its Phases and Purpose*. 16 pp. SCR, 1939. [Article repr. from the *Slavonic Review*, xvii, 1938-9, pp. 135-50.]
- SINFIELD, G. *A Nation of Champions. All about Soviet Sport*. ('Russia has a Plan' Series, No. 3.) 15 pp. RTS, 1941. [Brief pamphlet.]

- KING, B. *Children in the Soviet Union*. ('Russia has a Plan' Series, No. 4.) 15 pp. RTS, 1941. [Education, child welfare, &c.]
- Universities in the USSR*. 20 pp. ULF, 1942. [Partly based on information acquired on a visit in 1939.]
- KING, B. *Education in the Soviet Union*. (SCR Pamphlet, No. 1.) 34 pp. SCR, 1942. [Useful reprint of articles published in various periodicals.]
- Education in the USSR*. (Study Outline, No. 1.) 16 pp. Anglo-Soviet Youth Friendship Alliance, 1942. [Good summary of educational facilities and work.]

C. RUSSIAN SCHOOLBOOKS

There is available in English a series of translations of Russian schoolbooks for children by a young Russian engineer, I. Y. Marshak, writing under the pseudonym M. Ilin.

- ILIN, M. *Moscow has a Plan. A Soviet Primer*. Transl. by G. S. Counts and N. P. Lodge. 218 pp. CA, 1931. [Fascinating book for children about the work of the Plan. (Admirable illustrations by W. Kermode.)]
- „ *Black on White. The Story of Books*. Illustr. by N. Lapshin. 135 pp. R, 1932.
- „ *What Time is it? The Story of Clocks*. Illustr. by N. Lapshin. 132 pp. R, 1932.
- „ *100,000 Whys. A Trip around the Room*. Transl. B. Kinkead. 136 pp. R, 1933.
- „ *Men and Mountains: Man's Victory over Nature*. Transl. B. Kinkead. With a preface by Maxim Gorky. 330 pp. R, 1936. [The conquest of nature in Soviet Russia.]
- „ *Turning Night into Day. The Story of Lighting*. Transl. B. Kinkead. 141 pp. R, 1937.

Translations of other children's books are included in Appendix 1.

4. WOMAN IN THE USSR

The classical study of the position of woman in the Socialist State is that of AUGUST BEBEL, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (transl. as *Woman in the Past, Present, and Future*, 1885 ; &c.).

SMITH, JESSICA. *Woman in Soviet Russia*. 216 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1928. [The first general study of the subject, to which all subsequent books are heavily indebted.]

FIELD, A. W. *The Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia*. 263 pp. G, 1932. [Careful study, based on visits to Russia, of the relations of parents and children, the organisation of crèches, &c., by an American expert on child welfare. Brief bibl. of Russian and English books.]

CONUS, DR E. *The Protection of Motherhood and Childhood in the Soviet Union*. 117 pp. Medgiz, Moscow, 1933. [Brief authoritative account by the chief physician at the State Research Institute for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy.]

HALLE, F. W. *Woman in Soviet Russia*. Transl. from the German. 409 pp. R, 1933. [Very full and thorough survey, by an Austrian who was born in Russia and speaks Russian. Excellent bibl. in several languages.]

WINTER, E. *Red Virtue. Human Relationships in the New Russia*. 320 pp. G, 1933. [General study of social relationships in Russia, with particular reference to the position of women, sexual morality, &c. Very valuable. Many citations from the Soviet press, &c. Good bibl. in several languages.]

KINGSBURY, S. M., and FAIRCHILD, M. *Factory, Family and Women in the Soviet Union*. 334 pp. P (NY), 1935. [Deals chiefly with the position of women in industry. Based on extensive study and personal investigation in the USSR by two professors of Social Economy at Bryn Mawr College.]

SEREBRENNIKOV, G. N. *The Position of Women in the USSR*. 288 pp. G, 1937. [The most up-to-date and comprehensive study, with statistics and much detailed information, by a Soviet writer.]

There is also a short but rather uncritical account in H. NEWITT, *Women must Choose. The Position of Women in Europe Today* (288 pp. G, 1937).

HALLE, F. W. *Woman in the Soviet East*. Transl. from the German. 363 pp. SW, 1938. [A study complementary to her *Woman in Soviet Russia*. Rather unsystematically arranged, but full of valuable material, acquired on personal visits and investigations, of the changing position of women in Soviet Asia. Many illustrations and good bibl.]

KOLONTAY, A. *Communism and the Family*. 22 pp. WSF, 1920. [Pamphlet on the place of the family in a Communist society.]

Women in the Soviet Union. With impressions by G. G. L. Alexander and F. Niurina. 67 pp. MB, 1929. [Speeches at the All-Russian Congress of Worker and Peasant Women in Nov. 1927.]

Women in Russia. 32 pp. CP, 1928. [Pamphlet based on a visit by five British working women to the same Congress.]

RAZUMOVA, A. *Russian Women in the Building Up of Socialism*. 23 pp. MB, 1933. [Statistics on employment of women in industry, extension of crèches, &c.]

BROWNING, H. *Women under Fascism and Communism*. 48 pp. L, 1934. [Pamphlet by a German Communist exile.]

NURINA, F. *Women in the Soviet Union. The Role of Women in Socialist Construction*. L (US pr.), 1934. [Good survey with statistics of part played by women in industry, &c.]

RUST, T. *Where Women enjoy Freedom*. 16 pp. RTS, 1940. [Generalities on the position of women.]

TCHERNAVIN, T. *We, Soviet Women*. 304 pp. HH, 1935. [Sketches of various types of women in the USSR. Unfriendly; the author escaped from the Soviet Union in 1932 (see her *Escape from the Soviets*).]

MANNIN, E. *Women and the Revolution*. 314 pp. SW, 1938. [Biographies of famous women who have participated in

various Revolutions ; contains some useful information about those who played a part in the Revolutionary movement in Russia.]

See also DOROTHY THOMPSON, *The New Russia* ; NEWSHOLME and KINGSBURY, *Red Medicine*, and other books on Soviet medicine ; the novels of Madame Kollontai and Boris Stepniak ; BEATRICE KING'S *Changing Man* ; &c. For individual women revolutionaries, see in the index under their names (Krupskaya, Emma Goldman, Breshkovskaia, Spiridonova).

5. RELIGION IN THE USSR

No attempt is made in the following list to include books and pamphlets which deal in a general way with the relations between Communism and religion, unless they make special reference to conditions in Russia. Besides those listed below, many books and pamphlets in III. 1. *a* and *b* will also be found of value. The English press, particularly during the years 1923-5 and 1929-31, can also be consulted, but allowance must be made for the propagandist character of many of its statements ; the *Manchester Guardian* is in general the most trustworthy source. Reference should also be made to some of the items in III. 1. *c*, since certain pamphleteers have spiced attacks on Communism with anti-Semitic allegations of a general character. For the position of the Jews in Russia, see III. 2. *d*.

a. DOCUMENTS

The principal documents regarding the relations of Church and State in the Soviet Union are given in full in EMHARDT'S *Religion in Soviet Russia* and HECKER'S *Religion under the Soviets*, while SPINKA'S *The Church and the Russian Revolution* includes in addition all those relating to the internal organisation and affairs of the Orthodox Church. The following separate publications may also be mentioned :

Certain Legislation respecting Religion in force in the USSR.
Cmd. 3641. 11 pp. SO, 1930.

Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars respecting Religious Associations, April 8, 1929. Cmd. 3511. 14 pp. SO, 1930.

A much fuller collection of documents, including administrative decisions, &c., is available in French: *La Législation soviétique contre la Religion. Traductions des documents officiels du Commissariat du Peuple à la Justice* (in *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. v [No. 18], pp. 1-135. Rome, 1925).

VALENTINOV, A. A. *The Assault of Heaven.* Preface by Peter Struve. 266 pp. Boswell (Germ. pr.), 1925. [Useful though highly prejudiced selection of material from Soviet newspapers and other sources illustrating the Communist attitude towards religion and various acts of persecution between 1917 and 1924.]

The present position (1942) is governed by article 124 of the new Constitution.

The official Soviet attitude is explained in two pamphlets, the first of them by the President of the 'League of the Godless', the leading authority on the subject:

YAROSLAVSKY, E. *Religion in the USSR.* 60 pp. MB, 1930.

STEINMAN, M. *Religion and the Church in the USSR.* 64 pp. CPS, Moscow, 1933.

Among the numerous pronouncements of Pope Pius XI on the subject of Communism, which culminated in the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* of 19 March 1937 (English transl. under the title of *Pius XI on Atheistic Communism.* 52 pp. CTS, 1937), his open letter to Cardinal Pampili of 2 Feb. 1930 deals directly with Russia, and is available in pamphlet form under the title *The Soviet Campaign against God. The Protest of His Holiness Pope Pius XI* (14 pp. CTS, 1930), as well as in the volume of *Selected Papal Encyclicals and Letters, 1928-1932* (360 pp. CTS, 1933). See also the various biographies of the Pope. (The most scholarly is that of P. HUGHES, *Pope Pius the Eleventh.* 318 pp. SH, 1937.)

A speech by the Archbishop of Canterbury (C. G. Lang) in the House of Lords on 2 April 1930 is also available as a pamphlet:

The Oppression of Religion in Russia. A speech delivered in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury. 29 pp. HS, 1930.

b. BOOKS

ALMEDINGEN, M. E. *The Catholic Church in Russia Today.* 132 pp. BO, 1923. [An informative sketch by a Roman Catholic who was in Russia up to 1922.]

The Anglican and Eastern Churches. A Historical Record, 1914-1921. 64 pp. SPCK (for the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association), 1921. [Includes a section by S. Runkevich, a member of the Holy Synod, on the recent history of the Russian Church and the restoration of the Patriarchate. (Repr. from the 1921 Report of the Association.)]

BENNIGSEN, G. (ed.). *Religion in Russia. A collection of essays read at the Cambridge Summer School of Russian Studies.* 110 pp. BO, 1940. [Five studies by Roman Catholic writers, one dealing with the general position of religion in Russia, the others with the relations between the Catholic Church and other religious communities in the country.]

BERDYAEV, N. *The Origins of Russian Communism.* Transl. by R. M. French. 239 pp. Bles, 1937. [Discusses the relationship of Bolshevism to older phases of Russian philosophical thought, and the relations of Church and State in Russia. (Criticises some of Hecker's views.)]

„ *The Russian Revolution.* (Essays in Order, 6.) 95 pp. SH, 1931. [Translation of two essays, 'Russian Religious Psychology and Communistic Atheism' and 'The Religion of Communism'.]

BOLSHAKOFF, S. *The Christian Church and the Soviet State.* 75 pp. SPCK, 1942. [Useful but rather superficial sketch of relations from 1917 to 1941.]

BRIAN CHANINOV, N. *The Russian Church.* Transl. from the French by W. B. Wells. 210 pp. BO, 1931. [Very brief on the post-revolutionary period.]

BURY, H. *Russia from Within. Personal experiences of many years, and especially since 1923.* 231 pp. Churchman

- Publ. Co., 1927. [Sketchy account of conditions in Russia by the Anglican Bishop of Northern and Central Europe, based on visits in Oct. 1923 and subsequently.]
- COOKE, R. J. *Religion in Russia under the Soviets*. 311 pp. Abingdon Press, NY, 1924. [An attempt (by a Methodist) to write the history of religious events in Russia between 1917 and 1923; based on material available in Western European languages, and in many respects inadequate.]
- CURTISS, J. S. *Church and State in Russia: the last years of the Empire, 1900-1917*. 442 pp. Columbia Univ. Press, 1940. [Scholarly study of the position before the Revolution.]
- EMHARDT, W. C. *Religion in Soviet Russia*. 387 pp. Mowbray (US pr.), 1929. [Well-documented study of relations between Church and State from 1917 to 1928, special attention being paid to schisms within the Orthodox Church. Includes a hostile study of the 'Living Church' by Prof. S. Troitsky.]
- FEDOTOFF, G. P. *The Russian Church since the Revolution*. 96 pp. SPCK, 1928. [Brief sketch by a professor at the Russian Theological Institute at Paris who had remained in Russia till 1925.]
- HARRIS, T. L. *Unholy Pilgrimage*. 185 pp. Clark, Edinburgh (US pr.), 1937. [Friendly and balanced observations by an American pastor who visited Russia in 1937 to discover 'how Russians live without God'.]
- HECKER, J. F. *Religion under the Soviets*. 207 pp. Vanguard Press, NY, 1927. [General statement of the position in the late 'twenties and sketch of the past relations of Church and State.]
- „ *Religion and Communism. A study of religion and atheism in Soviet Russia*. 303 pp. CH, 1933. [Full and systematic account, with appendix of the principal documents. Written from the Bolshevik standpoint. (Half the volume deals with pre-revolutionary Russia, and the beginnings of the anti-religious tradition.)]
- HERBIGNY, M. D'. *Militant Atheism: the world-wide propaganda of Communism*. 80 pp. SPCK, 1933. [Translation of two articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Feb.

- 1933), dealing mainly with anti-religious propaganda outside Russia. (See also many other studies by the same author, mainly in the *Orientalia Christiana*; the most important of them, describing his visit in 1925, is 'L'Aspect religieux de Moscou en 1925', *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. v [No. 20], pp. 185-280. Rome, 1926.)]
- JANIN, R. *The Separated Eastern Churches*. Transl. by Canon P. Boylan. 243 pp. Sands, 1933. [A general study from the Roman Catholic standpoint; very brief on events in post-revolutionary Russia.]
- LOCKHART, J. G. *Babel Visited. A Churchman in Soviet Russia*. 128 pp. Centenary Press, 1933. [Articles based on a visit in 1929, with special attention to religious matters and reproductions of some anti-religious posters. Superficial.]
- MCCULLAGH, F. *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity*. 401 pp. MU, 1924. [Mainly an eye-witness account, by a Russian-speaking Roman Catholic journalist, of the trial of Abp. Cieplak, Mgr. Budkiewicz and others in 1923. Contains also much information on the general policy of the Government and the position of the various religious communities.]
- MAURIAC, F. (and others). *Communism and Christians*. Transl. from the French. 294 pp. Paladin Press, 1938. [Five essays, mainly philosophical, but dealing also with the historical side. From the Roman Catholic standpoint.]
- Out of the Deep. Letters from Soviet Timber Camps*. [See IV. 6. c.]
- Red Gaols. A woman's experiences in Russian prisons*. [See III. 4. b.]
- REYBURN, H. Y. *The Story of the Russian Church*. 323 pp. Melrose, 1924. [A popular history, based entirely on sources available in Western languages. The last chapter deals with events between 1917 and 1923, but is quite inadequate. (Good bibl. for earlier sections.)]
- SPINKA, M. *The Church and the Russian Revolution*. 330 pp. MM, NY, 1927. [A detailed and scholarly study of the history of the Russian Orthodox Church between 1917 and

1925, based on printed material (all important documents are translated in full) and contacts with religious leaders in Russia. By an American Protestant.]

SPINKA, M. *Christianity confronts Communism*. 226 pp. Gifford, 1938. [A very fair statement of the position, with particular reference to Russia and with a useful bibl.]

C. PAMPHLETS

This list includes certain items whose dimensions would justify their being described as books, but whose character requires them to be classified with the pamphlet literature.

ANDERSON, P. B. *Russia's Religious Future. A survey of the situation, with documentary evidence from Soviet sources* 48 pp. Lutterworth Press, 1937. [Brief study of the contemporary situation. (Several other pamphlets by the same author have been published at Paris by the Russian Orthodox Theological Institute and the Russian Student Christian Movement in a series of brochures entitled "*Life in Soviet Russia*." *Translations from the Russian Press* [1932 onwards].)]

An Appeal for Russian Christians. [?] pp. Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund, 1938. [Includes an account of the work of the Fund.]

BROWN, S. J. *Poison and Balm*. 143 pp. Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1938. [Lectures given in 1937, dealing mainly with religious persecution in Russia. Many references to English books and pamphlets on Russia.]

COATES, W. P. *Religion in Tsarist and Soviet Russia*. 48 pp. ARPC, 1930. [Pamphlet denying the existence of religious persecution in Soviet Russia, with copious citations from various observers.]

EVANS, S. *Religion in the USSR*. 15 pp. RTS, 1942. [Explanation of the Soviet position, with citations to show how the Church is supporting the Government in the war with Germany.]

GODDEN, G. M. *Whither Ireland?* 2nd edn. 44 pp. Irish Rosary Office, Dublin, 1933. [A pamphlet (provoked by the creation of the new Irish Communist Party in 1933)

depicting the horrors of misery and atheism in Russia, with many citations from the Soviet Press.]

KÜGELGEN, C. VON. *The Whited Sepulchre. An authentic account of church persecution in Russia.* Transl. from the German. 119 pp. Butterworth Press, 1935. [Professedly an account of the persecution undergone by a German Lutheran, 'Pastor Kern', from the Volga region, mainly during the years 1929-33. Strongly anti-Semitic in tone.]

LEGGE, W. *The Theory and Objective of Bolshevism.* 36 pp. CTS, 1933. [Mainly concerned with anti-religious propaganda in general.]

MCCABE, J. *Russia and the Roman Church.* (Thinker's Forum, No. 16.) 48 pp. Watts (Rationalist Press Association), 1941. [Pamphlet attacking Roman Catholic anti-Bolshevik propaganda. (See also his book *The Papacy in Politics Today. Vatican plots in Spain and other countries.* 196 pp. Watts, 1937.)]

MACCAIG, A. *Grace Astounding in Bolshevik Russia. A record of the Lord's dealings with Brother Cornelius Martens.* 133 pp. Russian Missionary Society, 1929. [Somewhat imaginative account of the experiences of an itinerant Baptist preacher of German descent in post-revolutionary Russia. (See also the same author's *Wonders of Grace in Russia.* 251 pp. Russ. Miss. Soc., Riga, 1936.)]

MACGILLIVRAY, G. J. *The Anti-God Front of Bolshevism. A statement of facts.* 32 pp. CTS, 1930. [General notes on Soviet anti-religious proceedings (with references).]

MACKENZIE, F. A. *The Russian Crucifixion. The full story of the persecution of religion under Communism.* 140 pp. J, 1931. [Anti-Bolshevik pamphlet, giving a popular account of religious persecution since the Revolution. (By a journalist who was in Russia 1921-4.)].

REDDIE, S. G. *The Russian Persecution and its Meaning.* 16 pp. Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1930. [Biblical prophecies and the Revolution.]

Religious Persecution in Russia. 7 pp. Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund, 1930. [The policy of the Soviet Govt. and various acts of persecution.]

- ROSHESTVENSKY, A. *His Holiness Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and of all the Russias*. Transl. by H. P. 31 pp. SPCK, 1923. [Sketch of his life and character, based on personal knowledge.]
- SHERWOOD, M. *The Soviet War on Religion*. 46 pp. MB, 1930. [Communist pamphlet denying the existence of persecution of religion, save in so far as believers have involved themselves with politics. Copious citations from the Soviet press. Mainly confined to the years 1929-30.]
- Solovky: a living cemetery*. 25 pp. Russian Missionary Society, 1930. [Letters signed by 'Erastus' describing his imprisonment on Solovetsky.]
- To the Help of Russian Christians*. 8 pp. Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund, 1937. [Statement of the Fund's objects.]
- 'TOYLER, A.' *Russia slays — ?* 204 pp. Foulis, 1938. [An Evangelical lament over the shocking character of Soviet anti-religious policy.]
- WATT, L. *Communism*. With additional matter by G. M. Godden. 32 pp. CTS, 1932. [Uses some Russian material.]
- WIDDRINGTON, P. E. T. *What has happened to the Russian Church ?* 10 pp. Russian Clergy and Church Aid Fund, 1938. [Article repr. from *Christendom*. (See also his very interesting article, 'The Religious Situation in Russia', in *Christendom*, xii (No. 45), 1942, pp. 11-18.)]

With regard to periodicals, *The Christian East* (1920 onwards ; quarterly), published by the Anglican and Eastern Churches Association, contains many articles relating to Russia. The Russian Missionary Society, a Baptist organisation, published at Riga from Jan. 1918 to Dec. 1932 a periodical entitled *The Friend of Missions* (monthly ; after Dec. 1926 it incorporated *The Gospel in Russia*, a monthly previously published in London), subsequently entitled *The Friend of Russia* (monthly ; Jan. 1933 onwards) and published in London. The same society also published at Riga many pamphlets in English dealing with its Russian activities. The Vatican published from Jan. 1935 to Dec. 1937 a periodical entitled *Letters from*

Rome on Modern Atheism (fortnightly, in English, French and German); this has been continued from Jan. 1938 under the new title *The World Problem. A Monthly Survey of Modern Atheism*.

6. SOVIET GEOGRAPHY AND EXPLORATION

a. GENERAL WORKS

The best short introduction to the geography of the Soviet Union is a French work by MARC SLONIM, *Les onze républiques soviétiques* ('Bibliothèque géographique.' 291 pp. Paris, 1937). The character of the English work by N. MIKHAYLOV, *Soviet Geography. The New Industrial and Economic Distributions of the USSR* (Foreword by Sir H. J. Mackinder. 232 pp. M, 1935. 2nd edn., slightly revised. 229 pp. M, 1937), is indicated by the subtitle; it is not a general geographical study. One may mention also V. ROMM, 'Geographic Tendencies in the Soviet Union', in *The Soviet Union and World Problems* (1935). There is a fairly adequate section in I. BOWMAN, *The New World: Problems in Political Geography* (4th edn. 803 pp. HA [US pr.], 1929).

The following works were issued by various departments of the British Government, and contain useful—though in many respects quite obsolete—information.

Peace Handbooks. Vol. IX. *The Russian Empire*. Issued by the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. SO, 1920.

No. 50.	Courland, Livonia, Esthonia.	86 pp.
51.	Bessarabia.	50 „
52.	Ukraine.	110 „
53.	Don and Volga Basins.	108 „
54.	Caucasia.	95 „
55.	Eastern Siberia.	96 „
56.	Sakhalin.	46 „

Handbooks prepared for the use of representatives at the Peace Conference. (Bibliographies of pre-war literature, and general index to the series.)

- A Handbook of Siberia and Arctic Russia.* Vol. 1. *General.* Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. 384 pp. SO, 1920. [On the same lines as the *Peace Handbooks*. Vols. ii and iii, intended for a more detailed survey, were never published.]
- The Russian States. A Description of the various Political Units existing on Russian Territory.* (Foreign Office.) 10 pp. SO, 1922. [Brief description of the position before the Union of 30 Dec. 1922.]
- Soviet Russia. A description of the various Political Units existing on Russian Territory, to which is appended the Constitution of the USSR of July 6, 1923.* (Foreign Office.) 22 pp. SO, 1924. [Brief description of the States and how they came to be formed, with two good maps and the text of the 1923 Constitution.]

There is no good up-to-date map or atlas of the USSR available. The following is a list of maps (in chronological order) which have been published since 1917.

- Russia.* (Boundaries as defined by the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest.) 72 miles to 1 inch. 2 sheets. London Geographical Institute, 1918.
- Map of European Russia, showing Railways and Waterways.* 1 : 6,300,000. Intelligence Division, War Office, 1919.
- Stanford's Railway Map of European Russia.* 50.8 miles to 1 inch. Stanford, 1922.
- Russia.* (Wall Atlas.) Physical. 200 miles to 3 inches. Nelson, 1924.
- Asia: General.* 1 : 4,000,000. Geographical Section of the General Staff, War Office.
- Sheet 20. *South Russia* (1924).
- „ 21. *Central Asia* (1931).
- „ 22. *Mongolia* (1931).
- „ 23. *Manchuria* (1936). [Includes Far Eastern Province.]
- „ 32. *Persian Gulf* (2nd edn. 1939). [Includes Caucasus.]
- „ 33. *Northern India* (1927). [Includes Turkestan.]

- Stanford's Map of the Siberian Railway, the great land route to China and Korea.* 110 miles to 1 inch. Stanford, 1925.
- Soviet Russia. Map showing the area seeded with spring wheat, &c.* 'Corn Trade News', Liverpool, 1932.
- USSR and Adjacent Countries.* Physical. 1 : 6,000,000. Geographical Section of the General Staff, War Office, 1935. [Does not include the Far East beyond Krasnoiarsk.]
- Map of the USSR.* With a Handbook and Index of 48 pp. Funk & Wagnall, NY, 1938.
- Russia in Europe and its Border States.* 1 : 6,526,000. London Geographical Institute, 1940.
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.* 170 miles to 1 inch. Stanford, 1941.
- Stanford's Map of the Battle Fronts of West Russia, Murmansk to Batum.* 50 miles to 1 inch. Stanford, 1941.
- News Chronicle Russo-German War Map.* (With inset of the Far East.) About 100 miles to 1 inch. 'News Chronicle', 1941.*
- Daily Telegraph War Map of the Russian Front.* 114 miles to 1 inch. 'Daily Telegraph', 1941.

There are some good sketch maps, with explanatory text, in J. H. STEMBRIDGE, *An Atlas of the USSR* (Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 61). 32 pp. OUP, 1942. The most useful gazetteer is that which accompanies Funk & Wagnall's *Map of the USSR*, listed above. The *Russian Gazetteer and Guide* (Ed. W. H. Beable. 141 pp. 'Russian Outlook', 1919) is of course quite out of date.

b. EUROPEAN RUSSIA

There are no books specially devoted to the geography of European Russia. For general books of travel, see III. 1. e. This section will only cover two particular regions.

For the north and north-western regions (Kola Peninsula, Karelia, &c.), the following may be mentioned

- HOMEN, T. (ed.). *East Carelia and Kola Lapmark.* Described by Finnish scientists and philologists. 264 pp. LN (Helsinki pr.), 1921. [Detailed information put together in 1918 preparatory to the anticipated annexation of these

regions to Finland. Useful only for pre-revolutionary conditions.]

East Carelia. A Survey of the Country and its Population, and a Review of the Carelian Question. 216 pp. Helsinki, 1941. [Finnish propaganda, but very full of detailed information on the country.]

For the development of these regions, see *USSR in Construction*, Dec. 1932, Nov. 1934 and Sept. 1935.

The chief books on the Caucasian region in 1919-24 will be found listed in II. 4. g, but the following may also be mentioned :

SAVA, G. *Valley of Forgotten People.* 295 pp. F, 1941. [Personal adventures of the author in 1918; of purely cultural interest.]

GHAMBASHIDZE, D. *Mineral Resources of Georgia and Caucasus. Manganese industry of Georgia.* 182 pp. AU, 1919. [Detailed survey, to attract foreign capital, by a distinguished Georgian geographer living in London.]

NANSEN, F. *Armenia and the Near East.* Transl. from the Norwegian. 324 pp. AU, 1928.

„ *Through the Caucasus to the Volga.* Transl. by G. C. Wheeler. 255 pp. AU, 1931. [These two books form a record of the author's observations on a visit to the Caucasus in 1925 in connection with the repatriation of Armenians; much about the past history of the country.]

LEHMANN, J. *Prometheus and the Bolsheviks.* 256 pp. Cresset Press, 1937. [Very full and valuable account of modern Georgia, based on a visit in 1936.]

There are many good articles and notes on the Caucasian States in the *Asiatic Quarterly*. The periodical entitled *Georgica* (1935 onwards) deals only with the earlier history and culture of the region.

C. ASIATIC RUSSIA (GENERAL)

On the geographical features of Asiatic Russia, one can consult such general works as L. D. STAMP, *Asia. An Economic*

and *Regional Geography* (616 pp. M, 1929), or L. W. LYDE, *The Continent of Asia* (777 pp. MM, 1937), though the accounts they give are necessarily very brief. There is nothing in English to correspond to such a thorough German work as A. SCHULTZ, *Sibirien. Eine Landeskunde* (212 + 34 pp. Breslau, 1923). In French, the two admirable volumes of C. STEBER, *La Sibirie et l'extrême nord soviétique* (245 pp. Paris, 1936) and *L'Asie centrale soviétique et le Kazakhstan* (301 pp. Paris, 1939), cover most of the ground. The Admiralty *Handbook of Siberia and Arctic Russia* (1920) is of course quite out of date.

On the development of Asiatic Russia under Soviet rule, the recent book of E. S. BATES, *Soviet Asia : Progress and Problems* (191 pp. CA, 1942), is in every way inadequate, being little more than a series of discursive commentaries on various topics, some of which have little to do with Soviet Asia at all ; moreover, the bibliography is quite insufficient. PRINCE A. LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY'S *Russia and Asia* (334 pp. MM, NY, 1933) deals mainly with the pre-revolutionary period, and has little to say on recent developments. Two older and much more important works are G. CLEINOW, *Neu-Sibirien. Eine Studie zur Aufmarsch der Sowjetmacht in Asien* (426 pp. Berlin, 1928) and *Roter Imperialismus. Eine Studie über die Verkehrsprobleme der Sowjetunion* (224 pp. Berlin, 1931). On this latter topic, VIOLET CONOLLY'S two books, *Soviet Economic Policy in the East* (1933) and *Soviet Trade from the Pacific to the Levant* (1935), are essential. One may also mention E. E. KISCH, *Changing Asia* (Transl. from the German by R. Reil. 267 pp. Knopf, NY, 1935), by a German Communist. H. KOHN'S *History of Nationalism in the East* (Transl. from the German by M. M. Green. 476 pp. R, 1929) contains a useful chapter on the Soviet policy towards the new 'nationalities' of Asiatic Russia ; see also, on this topic, the works by Kohn and others in III. 2. d. The few pages devoted to Siberia in JOHN GUNTHER'S *Inside Asia* (659 pp. HH, 1939) are of no great value. F. HALLE'S *Woman in the Soviet East* (1938) deals in a very thorough fashion with one aspect of Soviet rule. *In Search of Soviet Gold*, by LITTLEPAGE and BESS, refers mainly to Asiatic conditions.

The *Asiatic Quarterly* (London) often contains valuable information about Asiatic Russia, and in recent years has published many translations of authoritative articles in the Soviet press. *Pacific Affairs* (Institute of Pacific Relations, Camden, New Jersey) also devotes much attention to Asiatic Russia, and its articles are almost invariably of very high quality. *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* is likewise of value.

d. WESTERN SIBERIA

A good deal about the economic development of Western Siberia will be found in the volumes on the Five-Year Plans in IV. 2, and in some of the accounts of visitors listed in III. 1. e. To these may be added the following :

- DOMINIQUE, P. *Secrets of Siberia*. Transl. from the French by W. B. Wells. 288 pp. HN, 1934. [Impressions of a visit to Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, &c., in 1932 ; very unfavourable account of conditions of life.]
- HUPPERT, H. *Men of Siberia. Sketchbook from the Kuzbas*. 326 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1934. [Sketches of life in the new industrial centres during the First Five-Year Plan.]
- EGART, M. *The Ferry. Sketches of the Struggle for Socialism in the Altai Mts*. 151 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1932. (Repr. in *International Omnibus*, No. 2. *Tales of War and Revolution*. L, 1935). [Short sketches of life and development, and changes in living conditions.]
- EDELMAN, M. *How Russia Prepared. USSR beyond the Urals*. 127 pp. PB, 1942. [Mainly an account of the industrial development of Western Siberia and the far eastern region.]

e. THE EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCTIC REGIONS

Books written before 1930—e.g. the excellent study of A. W. GREALY, *The Polar Regions in the Twentieth Century: their discovery and industrial evolution* (223 pp. HA, 1929)—contain little information about Soviet work in the Arctic, partly because the achievements of the 'twenties were less spectacular than those of the 'thirties, partly because less was known about

them. Later works are much fuller. Besides the more general books on 'Asia' listed already (that of Steber is particularly valuable), the four following studies give good general surveys :

- TARACOUZIO, T. A. *Soviets in the Arctic. An historical, economic and political study of the Soviet advance into the Arctic.* 546 pp. MM (NY), 1938. [The fullest and most detailed study, based mainly on Russian sources but with no personal knowledge of conditions. Good maps, and bibl. of nearly 50 pp.]
- SEIDENFADEN, G. *Modern Arctic Exploration.* Preface by P. Freuchen. Transl. from the Danish by N. Walford. 189 pp. CA, 1939. [Well-balanced and readable general account.]
- SCHMIDT, O. J. *Polar Exploration and the USSR.* 26 pp. Congress of Peace and Friendship, 1935. [Speech on polar exploration by the chief Soviet authority.]
- MASON, K. 'Notes on the Northern Ice Route'. *Geographical Journal*, xcvi, 1940, pp. 27-41. [Excellent critical summary of results achieved.]

See also S. JOFFE's study, *The Northern Sea Route as a Transport Problem*, referred to in the next subsection below.

There is very little in English on the voyage of the 'Maud' from Norway to the Behring Straits in 1918-20. AMUNDSEN's book has never been translated, and he devotes only a few pages to it in his autobiography (*My Life as an Explorer.* 202 pp. H [US pr.], 1927), but H. HANSEN's book, *Voyages of a Modern Viking* (216 pp. R, 1936) deals with his own experiences on it and is of special interest on account of his visit to the Chukchis in North-Eastern Siberia. V. STEFANSSON's book, *The Adventure of Wrangel Island* (416 pp. CA, 1926), contains the story of his expedition to the island in 1922, his attempts to induce the British Government to annex it, and its final annexation by the Soviet Government in 1924.

The main story of the tragedy of the airship *Italia* in 1928 has nothing to do with the history of Soviet Russia, and the various writings of General Nobile, O. Arnesen, E. Lundborg, and others need not be mentioned here. But the two following

books are of more direct interest; the first—much the better of the two—is by the only non-Russian journalist on board the *Krassin*, and the other gives the Russian point of view of the rescue expedition.

GIUDICI, D. *The Tragedy of the 'Italia'.* With the rescuers to the Red Tent. 216 pp. BN, 1928.

PARIJANINE, M. *The Krassin.* Transl. L. Brown. 218 pp. Macaulay, NY, 1928.

For the 'Congress for the International Exploration of the Arctic by Airship', which was actually meeting in Leningrad at the time of the loss of the *Italia*, see P. FREUCHEN, *It's All Adventure.*

During the 'thirties the Soviet Arctic was visited by a number of foreigners, some of whom have left accounts of their own journeys and of the achievements of the Government in that region. There are also Russian accounts of various outstanding events.

MATTERS, L. *Through the Kara Sea. The Narrative of a Voyage in a Tramp Steamer through Arctic Waters to the Yenisei River.* 284 pp. Skeffington, 1932. [Voyage to Igarka and back in 1931 by an English M.P.]

GRUBER, R. *I went to the Soviet Arctic.* Preface by V. Stefansson. 380 pp. G, 1939. [Account of an extensive visit in 1935, mainly to the Yenisei region, by an American woman research student. Very valuable.]

SMOLKA, H. P. *40,000 against the Arctic. Russia's Polar Empire.* 288 pp. HN, 1937. [Account of an extensive visit, mainly in the same region, in 1936, by a British journalist. Contains much general information about work in the Arctic.]

GOLDMAN, in *Red Road through Asia*, gives an account of his journey up the Yenisei in 1938.

The Voyage of the 'Chelyuskin'. By Members of the Expedition. Transl. A. Brown. 325 pp. CW, 1935. [Full account, with maps and photographs, of the whole expedition (1933-4), including the narratives of the airmen who

- rescued the party. (See also *USSR in Construction*, 1934, No. 10, which is devoted to the expedition.)]
- MOGILEVSKA, S. *The Camp on the Icefield*. Transl. S. Garry. 232 pp. R, 1938. [A popular account of the *Chelyuskin* expedition and its rescue.]
- BRONTMAN, L. *On the Top of the World. The Soviet Expedition to the North Pole, 1937*. 287 pp. G, 1938. [General account of the expedition by a Soviet journalist who took part in it, with the messages from Papanin and his companions up to the end of Sept. 1937. (They remained on the ice floe till Feb. 1938.) The account of the chief pilot, Vodopianov, together with the novel which he wrote earlier proposing such an expedition, are available in a German transl.: M. WODOPJANOW, *Die Eroberung des Nordpols*. 432 pp. Malik Verlag (London), 1938.]
- BARDUKOV, G. *Over the North Pole*. 110 pp. HA, 1938. [Illustrated account, by one of the pilots, of the flight of the ANT. 25 from the USSR to the United States in June 1937.]
- STEFANSSON, V. *Unsolved Mysteries of the Arctic*. 352 pp. HA, 1939. [Contains the best account of the loss of Levanevsky and the H-209 on their trans-polar flight in Aug. 1937, together with the organisation of the search for them.]

f. EASTERN SIBERIA

For the Far Eastern Republic and Eastern Siberia generally during the years of the Revolution and Civil War, see II. 4. h.

There are very few accounts of visits to Eastern Siberia since 1917 available in English. Besides Hanssen's visit to the Chukotsk Peninsula in 1920, related in his *Voyages of a Modern Viking* (1936), the following may be mentioned:

- BERGMAN, S. *Through Kamchatka by dog-sled and skis*. Transl. from the Swedish by F. Whyte. 284 pp. Seeley Service, 1927. [Popular account of a Swedish expedition in 1920-1.]
- BURNHAM, J. B. *The Rim of Mystery. A hunter's wanderings in unknown Siberian Asia*. 281 pp. P, NY, 1929. [Hunting in the Chukotsk Peninsula in 1921.]

ASHTON, J. M. *Icebound. A Trader's Adventures in the Siberian Arctic.* 255 pp. P, NY, 1928. [Not very informative account of a trading voyage off the N. E. Siberian coast between June and Sept. 1922.]

B. DIGBY's *Tigers, Gold and Witchdoctors* (341 pp. LA [US pr.], 1928) consists of sketches about life in north-eastern Siberia, with sallies against the activities of the Soviet Government.

For the Lena valley there is M. BURR, *In Bolshevik Siberia. The Land of Ice and Exile* (224 pp. WI, 1931), an account of a visit by a Russian-speaking geologist in the winter of 1930-1.

The following papers were presented by the Soviet delegation to the 6th Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Yosemite in Aug. 1936 :

Indices of Socialist Construction in the USSR. 30 pp.

RAIKHMAN, E., and VVEDINSKY, B. *The Economic Development of the Soviet Far East.* 50 pp.

TZYMEK, A. *The Forest Wealth of the Soviet Far East and its Exploitation.* 33 pp.

Nature and Natural Resources of the Soviet Far East. [By various specialists.] 62 pp.

JOFFE, S. *The Northern Sea-Route as a Transport Problem.* 27 pp.

The second of these, expanded with material from the fourth, is reprinted in the official Proceedings of the Conference, *Problems of the Pacific, 1936* (Ed. W. L. Holland and K. L. Mitchell. 470 pp. OUP, 1937), which also contains a good report on the position of the Soviet in Far Eastern affairs.

Several of the volumes on Soviet foreign policy in III. 6. d contain more or less reliable data about the efforts made to render the Far Eastern province economically and militarily self-sufficient, but the information available on this subject is very incomplete and unsatisfactory.

On Far Eastern affairs generally, one may mention the monumental bibliography of R. J. KERNER, *North-Eastern Asia : a select bibliography. Contributions to the bibliography of the relations of China, Russia and Japan ; with special*

reference to Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia and Eastern Siberia, in oriental and European languages. (Publication of the North-Eastern Asia Seminar, Univ. of California.) 2 vols. Univ. of California Press, 1939.

g. RUSSIAN TURKESTAN

For any connected history of this region during the period of the Revolution and the Civil War, it is necessary to refer to the general histories listed in II. 1. a, to L. FISCHER, *The Soviets in World Affairs*, and to J. KUNITZ, *Dawn over Samarkand*. Comparatively few of those who 'visited' the region in one capacity or another during this period have left their experiences on record, but the following are important:

PRICE, M. P. *War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia*. 296 pp. AU, 1918. [Mainly an account of the Caucasian and Transcaspian regions in 1915-16, as seen by an English journalist.]

KRIST, G. *Prisoner in the Forbidden Land*. Transl. from the German by E. O. Lorimer. 354 pp. F, 1938. [Experiences of an Austrian prisoner of war in Turkestan between 1916 and 1921.]

BRUN, A. H. *Troublous Times. Experiences in Bolshevik Russia and Turkestan*. 243 pp. C, 1931. [Russia and Turkestan from Oct. 1917 to July 1919, as seen by a Danish Red Cross officer responsible for the interests of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war.]

BLACKER, CAPT. L. V. S. *Secret Patrol in High Asia*. 302 pp. MU, 1922. [The last chapters deal with the adventures of the Guides in Turkestan in 1919, but in a vague way and with an almost complete absence of precise dates. (See also his article, 'Travels in Turkistan, 1918-20', *Geographical Journal*, lviii, 1921, 178-97.)]

NAZAROFF, P. S. *Hunted through Central Asia*. Transl. by M. Burr. 332 pp. Blackwood, 1932. [The author's experiences in Russian Turkestan between 1918 and 1920, when he escaped into Sinkiang.]

FOX, R. *People of the Steppes*. 246 pp. C, 1925. [Life in the lands east of the Volga in 1922-3, as seen by a relief worker of Bolshevik sympathies.]

MRS E. R. CHRISTIE, in her account of pre-war journeys *Through Khiva to Golden Samarkand* (280 pp. Seeley Service, 1925), has added a few pages of no serious value on Tashkent under the Bolsheviks.

The later 'twenties also saw few visitors, though their accounts are of considerable interest.

KRIST, G. *Alone through the Forbidden Land. Journeys in disguise through Soviet Central Asia.* 271 pp. F, 1938. [A prolonged visit to Turkestan in 1924-5 by an Austrian ex-prisoner of war who already knew the country. Good photos and maps.]

WILSON, H. C., and MITCHELL, E. R. *Vagabonding at Fifty. From Siberia to Turkestan.* 335 pp. HN (US pr.), 1929. [Unpretentious account of four months' hitch-hiking in Turkestan in 1925 by two American women who had been employed in the Kuzbas.]

IKBAL ALI SHAH, SIRDAR. *Westward to Mecca. A journey of adventure through Afghanistan, Bolshevik Asia, Persia, Iraq and Hijaz to the Cradle of Islam.* 224 pp. WI, 1928. [Includes an account of his personal experiences in Turkestan when going on a pilgrimage to Meccâ in the middle 'twenties. By an Indian Muslim.]

STRONG, A. L. *Red Star in Samarkand.* 329 pp. WN (US pr.), 1930. [Account by an American journalist of a visit to Samarkand in 1929 at the invitation of a women's congress.]

There are several brief accounts by foreign journalists (Duranty, Lyons, &c.) of an official visit for the opening of the Turksib Railway in 1930. A very interesting account of a three months' visit to Tadjikistan in 1930 by the Soviet novelist Boris Pilniak is available in a French translation (*La septième république*. [?] pp. Paris, 1931).

The changes in this region during the 'thirties were considerable, and the accounts of visitors become more numerous.

CRAIG-McKERRON, M. R. *The Iron Road to Samarcand.* 143 pp. De la More Press 1932. [Record of a visit with Intourist in 1931. (Also Moscow, Kiev, &c.)]

- X. Y., *From Moscow to Samarkand*. 184 pp. HP, 1934. [A visit by a Soviet citizen in 1932 (?); mainly anecdotes of the past.]
- MAILLART, E. K. *Turkestan Solo. One woman's expedition from the Tien Shan to the Kizil Kum*. Transl. from the French by J. Rodker. 307 pp. P, 1934. Repr. 338 pp. H, 1938. [Account of an independent visit in 1933.]
- ROMM, M. *The Ascent of Mt. Stalin*. Transl. A. Brown. 270 pp. LW, 1936. [Account of an expedition to the highest point in the Pamirs in 1933.]
- GOLDMAN, B. *Red Road through Asia. A Journey by the Arctic Ocean to Siberia, Central Asia and Armenia; with an account of the peoples now living in those countries under the Hammer and Sickle*. 277 pp. M, 1934. [Interesting but sceptical account of 'things seen' on a journey in 1933. (Brief bibl.)]
- MANNIN, E. *South to Samarkand*. 355 pp. J, 1936. [Friendly account of a visit to Russia in 1935. (Leningrad, Moscow, Ukraine, Caucasus, Turkestan,)]
- LUBINSKI, K. *This is our World*. 247 pp. HS, 1938. [The wanderings of an Austrian traveller, including a visit to the Kazak and Oirod Republics in 1936 (?).]
- KUNITZ, J. *Dawn over Samarkand. The Rebirth of Central Asia*. 348 pp. LW (US pr.), 1936. [Excellent sketch and interpretation of changes and developments in Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan since the Revolution, based on research and personal knowledge.]
- FORBES, R. *Forbidden Road—Kabul to Samarkand*. 289 pp. CA, 1937. Repr. (omitting the illustrations) under the title *Russian Road to India—by Kabul and Samarkand*. 252 pp. PB, 1940. [Nearly half the volume deals with her impressions of Russian Turkestan.]

h. CHINESE TURKESTAN

The period of the 'twenties is not one of great importance politically, but the following books are of value.

- SKRINE, C. P. *Chinese Central Asia*. Introd. by Sir F. Young-husband. 306 pp. M, 1926. [Sinkiang in 1922-4 by the British Consul-General.]

- NAZAROFF, P. S. *Moved on! From Kashgar to Kashmir*. Transl. by M. Burr. 317 pp. AU, 1935. [The memoirs of a White Russian officer who settled in Sinkiang after the collapse of the Whites, and took refuge in India in 1924.]
- MORDER, W. J. *Across Asia's Snows and Deserts*. Introd. by R. C. Andrews. 415 pp. P, NY, 1927. [Journey from India through Sinkiang and the western edge of Outer Mongolia to the Trans-Siberian Railway, by members of an expedition on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History.]
- ROERICH, G. N. *Trails to Inmost Asia. Five Years of Exploration with the Roerich Central Asian Expedition*. Preface by L. Marin. 504 pp. Yale Univ. Press, 1931. [Account of an archæological expedition in Central Asia (Sinkiang, Siberia, Outer and Inner Mongolia, Tibet) in 1924-8.]
- LATTIMORE, O. *The Desert Road to Turkestan*. 331 pp. M, 1928.
- „ *High Tartary*. 370 pp. Little, Boston, 1930.
- „ , E. H. *Turkestan Reunion*. 286 pp. HB, 1935.
- Three volumes describing extensive travels in Mongolia and Sinkiang in 1926-7. (Mrs Lattimore travelled by Trans-Siberian and sleigh to join her husband at Chuguchak in Feb. 1927.)
- TRINKLER, E. *The Stormswept Roof of Asia. By yak, camel and sheep caravan in Tibet, Chinese Turkistan, and over the Kara-Koram*. Transl. from the German by E. K. Featherstone. 312 pp. Seeley Service, 1931. [Account of a scientific expedition as far as Kashgar in 1927. No political information.]
- SCHOMBERG, COL. R. C. F. *Peaks and Plains of Central Asia*. 288 pp. Hopkinson 1933. [Extensive travels in Sinkiang between 1927 and 1931, before the civil war had broken out.]
- HEDIN, S. *Across the Gobi Desert*. Transl. from the German by H. J. Cant. 402 pp. R, 1931.
- „ *Riddles of the Gobi Desert*. Transl. from the Swedish by E. Sprigge and C. Napier. 382 pp. R, 1933.

The first of these volumes describes the start of Sven Hedin's expedition and its march to Urumchi in 1927-8, the second, its work between 1928 and 1930.

HASLUND, H. *Men and Gods in Mongolia (Zayagan)*. Transl. from the Swedish by E. Sprigge and C. Napier. 358 pp. KP, 1933. [The record by a member of Hedin's expedition covering the period 1927-30.]

The events of the 'thirties—particularly of the years 1930-4—are of great importance, and the literature on them is considerable.

HEDIN, S. *Big Horse's Flight. The Trail of War in Central Asia*. Transl. F. H. Lyon. 248 pp. MM, 1936. [Account of the civil war in Sinkiang in 1931-4, and how his own expedition came to be caught up in it in 1934.]

„ *The Silk Road*. Transl. F. H. Lyon. 322 pp. R, 1938. [Deals more directly with the expedition and its four months' captivity at Urumchi in 1934. (Excellent appendix on subsequent political developments, up to June 1938.)]

The third volume of SVEN HEDIN's trilogy, *The Wandering Lake* (Transl. F. H. Lyon. 293 pp. R, 1940), and a popular account of the expedition by the geodesist N. AMBOLT (*Karavan. Travels in Eastern Turkestan*. Transl. J. Bulman. 191 pp. Blackie, 1939), who was with it from 1928 to 1933, contain nothing very relevant to political happenings. The same is true of G. LE FÈVRE's account of the Citroën expedition through Central Asia (Pamirs, Sinkiang, Mongolia) in 1931-2 (*An Eastern Odyssey*. Transl. and adapted by Sir E. D. Swinton. 368 pp. G, 1935).

WU, A. K. *Turkistan Tumult*. 279 pp. M, 1940. [Mainly events of 1933-4, with some references to later history. By a Chinese official who went to Sinkiang in 1933.]

VASEL, G. *My Russian jailers in China*. Transl. from the German by G. Griffin. 288 pp. HB, 1937. [Experiences of a German aviation expert employed by the Chinese Govt. in Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang, 1933-5.]

FLEMING, P. *News from Tartary. A Journey from Peking to Kashmir.* 384 pp. CA, 1936.

MAILLART, E. K. *Forbidden Journey. From Peking to Kashmir.* Transl. from the French by T. McGreevy. 312 pp. H, 1937. [These two volumes (well illustrated) are accounts of a journey made in company by the authors in 1935, and deal chiefly with Sinkiang. (Peter Fleming is strongly anti-Russian in his comments on the political situation.)]

TEICHMAN, SIR E. *Journey to Turkistan.* 221 pp. HS, 1935. [Admirable account of an official visit towards the end of 1935. (Excellent photographs and map.)]

FILCHNER, W. *A Scientist in Tartary. From the Hoang-Ho to the Indus.* Transl. from the German by E. O. Lorimer. 391 pp. F, 1939. [Chinese Turkestan as seen in 1936-7 by a German geophysicist.]

A brief summary of the most up-to-date information will be found in O. LATTIMORE, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Amer. Geog. Soc., Research Series, No. 21. 585 pp. OUP [US pr.], 1940.)

i. OUTER MONGOLIA

The most valuable summary of the history of Outer Mongolia since 1917 is an article by G. M. FRITERS, 'The Development of Outer Mongolian Independence', *Pacific Affairs*, x, 1937, pp. 815-36, which contains references to the relevant literature in Russian and other languages. Despite its inadequacy in certain respects, the French work of J. LÉVINE, *La Mongolie : historique, géographique, politique* (252 pp. Paris, 1937), is of value, as also is W. K. KOROSTOWETZ, *Von Cinggis Khan zur Sowjetrepublik. Geschichte des Mongolei unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der neuesten Zeit* (351 pp. Berlin, 1926). An excellent list of articles dealing with the recent history of Outer Mongolia and its relations with the Soviet Union, China, and Japan will be found in M. PRAWDIN, *The Mongol Empire : its rise and legacy* (Transl. from the German by E. & C. Paul. 581 pp. AU, 1940), though the text of this work deals only with the great period of Mongol history.

For Baron Ungern-Sternberg and the period of the early 'twenties the following are important :

- ALIOSHIN, D. *Asian Odyssey*. 311 pp. CS, 1941. [By a White Russian officer who was in Baron Ungern's service. (No dates or index.)]
- OSSENDOWSKI, F. *Beasts, Men and Gods*. 325 pp. AR, 1923. [A highly coloured account of his adventures in Outer Mongolia in 1920-1, by a Polish geologist who knew Siberia well and was attached to Kolchak's Govt.]
- FORBATH, L. *The New Mongolia*. As related by Joseph Geleta. Transl. from the Hungarian by L. Wolfe. 276 pp. H, 1936. [By a Hungarian who escaped from Siberia in 1918 and lived in Outer Mongolia till 1922.]
- HASLUND, H. *Tents in Mongolia (Yabonah). Adventures and experiences among the Nomads of Central Asia*. Transl. from the Swedish by E. Sprigge and C. Napier. 366 pp. KP, 1934. [Account of an expedition to Outer Mongolia in 1923-4.]
- STRASSER, R. *The Mongolian Horde*. Transl. from the German. Introd. by Sir M. Sadler. 347 pp. CA, 1930. [Impressions by an artist who wandered over much of Central Asia between 1922 and 1927, and was in Urga in 1925-6.]

Between 1922 and 1925 Outer Mongolia was visited by the Central Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, but the accounts of its achievements, by R. C. Andrews and others, contain almost nothing relating to its political history, and they can therefore be omitted here. A good account of the People's Republic as it was in 1927 is given by A. L. STRONG in her *China's Millions* (1936), where she describes her journey through it in company with Borodin and his party. A good summary of the history of the Republic and its relations with neighbouring Powers up to 1936 will be found in *Eastern Menace. The Story of Japanese Imperialism* (96 pp. UDC, 1936).

APPENDIX 1

SOVIET LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION

THESE lists do not include works of Gorki and other writers which were published before the Revolution, nor do they include translations that have appeared in newspapers or periodicals, or those mentioned separately in the anthologies in V. 1. *e.* They do not include translations published in Russia or the United States unless these have also been published in Great Britain. Only the dates of first publication are given.

a. NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

- AVDEYENKO, A. *I Love*. Transl. A. Wixley. 283 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1934.
- BABEL, I. *Red Cavalry*. Transl. J. Harland. 255 pp. K, 1929.
 „ *Benia Krik. A film novel*. Transl. I. Montagu and S. S. Nolbandov. 96 pp. Collet, 1935.
- CHUMANDRIN, M. *White Star*. 80 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1933.
- EHRENBURG, I. *The Love of Jeanne Ney*. Transl. H. C. Matheson. 356 pp. PD, 1929.
 „ *A Street in Moscow*. Transl. S. Volochova. 284 pp. GG, 1933.
 „ *Out of Chaos*. Transl. A. Bakshy. 391 pp. AP (NY), 1934.
- FADEEV, A. *The Nineteen*. Transl. R. D. Charques. 293 pp. L, 1929.
- FURMANOV, D. *Chapayev*. Transl. from the Russian. 423 pp. L, 1935. 2nd edn. 311 pp. LW, 1941.
- GLADKOV, F. V. *Cement*. Transl. A. S. Arthur and C. Ashleigh. 311 pp. L, 1929.
- GORKI, M. *Decadence*. [= *The Artamanovs' Business*.] Transl. V. S. Gatty. 324 pp. CS, 1927.
 „ *Bystander*. Transl. B. G. Guernsey. 729 pp. CA (US pr.), 1930.
 „ *The Magnet*. Transl. A. Bakshy. 839 pp. CA (US pr.), 1931.
 „ *Other Fires*. Transl. A. Bakshy. 507 pp. AP (NY), 1933.

GORKI, M. *The Specter*. Transl. A. Bakshy. 680 pp. AP (NY), 1938.

[These four volumes together make up the tetralogy, *The Life of Klim Samghin*.]

„ *The Story of a Novel, and other stories*. Transl. M. Zakrevsky. 273 pp. J (US pr.), 1927. [The other stories are 'The Sky Blue Life', 'An Incident', 'The Rehearsal', and 'The Hermit'.]

„ *A Book of Short Stories*. Ed. A. Yarmolinsky and Baroness M. Budberg. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. 403 pp. CA, 1939. [Contains two post-revolutionary stories, 'The Hermit' and 'Karamora'.]

GUL, R. *General B.O.* Transl. L. Zarine. Ed. S. Graham. 332 pp. BN, 1930.

ILF, I., and PETROV, E. *The Little Golden Calf. A satiric novel*. Transl. C. Malamuth. Introd. by A. Lunacharski. 384 pp. GG, 1932.

„ „ *Diamonds to Sit On. A Russian comedy of errors*. Transl. E. Hill and D. Mudie. 280 pp. M, 1930.

ILYENKOV, V. *Driving Axle. A Novel of Socialist Construction*. 455 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1933.

KASSIL, L. *The Story of Alesha Ryazan and Uncle White-Sea*. 48 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1935.

KATAEV, V. *The Embezzlers*. Transl. L. Zarine. Introd. by S. Graham. 254 pp. B, 1929.

„ *Forward, Oh Time!* Transl. C. Malamuth. 432 pp. G, 1934.

„ *Lonely White Sail, or, Peace is where the tempests blow*. Transl. C. Malamuth. 341 pp. AU, 1937.

KAVERIN, B. (V. A.) *The Larger View*. Transl. E. L. Swan. 484 pp. CS, 1938.

KOLLONTAI, A. *Free Love*. Transl. C. J. Hogarth. 279 pp. DT, 1932.

LEONOV, L. *Tuatamur*. Transl. I. Montagu and S. S. Nolbandov. 50 pp. Collet, 1935.

„ *The Thief*. Transl. H. Butler. 566 pp. S, 1931.

„ *Sot*. Transl. I. Montagu and S. S. Nolbandov. Foreword by Maxim Gorki. 387 pp. P, 1931.

„ *Skutarevsky*. Transl. A. Brown. 431 pp. LD, 1936.

LIBEDINSKY, I. *A Week*. Transl. A. Ransome. 160 pp. AU, 1923.

- LIDIN, V. *The Apostate*. Transl. H. C. Matheson. 336 pp. CA, 1931.
- MATVEYEV, V. *Commissar of the Gold Express. An episode in the Civil War*. 212 pp. L (USSR pr.), 1933. Repr. in *International Omnibus*, No. 2. *Tales of War and Revolution*. (L, 1935).
- „ *Bitter Draught*. Transl. D. Flower. 297 pp. CS, 1935.
- NEVEROV, A. *Tashkent*. Transl. R. Merton and W. G. Walton. 224 pp. G, 1930.
- OGNYOV, N. *Diary of a Communist Schoolboy*. Transl. A. Werth. 288 pp. G, 1928.
- „ *Diary of a Communist Undergraduate*. Transl. A. Werth. 288 pp. G, 1929.
- PANFEROV, F. *Brusski. A story of peasant life in Russia*. Transl. Z. Mitrov and J. Tabrisky. 300 pp. L, 1930.
- „ *And then the Harvest*. Transl. S. Garry. 457 pp. P, 1939.
- PAVLENKO, P. *Red Planes fly east*. Transl. S. Garry. 523 pp. R, 1938.
- PETROV, E., and ILF, I. v. sub. Ilf, I.
- PILNIAK, B. *Tales of the Wilderness*. Introd. D. S. Mirsky. 255 pp. R, 1924.
- „ *The Volga flows down to the Caspian Sea*. 332 pp. PD, 1932.
- PRISHVIN, M. *Jen Sbeg : the root of life*. Transl. G. Walton and P. Gibbons. Foreword by J. S. Huxley. 157 pp. Melrose, 1936.
- ROMANOV, P. *Without Cherry Blossom*. Transl. L. Zarine. Ed. S. Graham. 287 pp. BN, 1930.
- „ *Three Pairs of Silk Stockings. A novel of the life of the educated class under the Soviet*. Transl. L. Zarine. Ed. S. Graham. 344 pp. BN, 1931.
- „ *The New Commandment*. Transl. V. Snow. 285 pp. BN, 1933.
- „ *On the Volga, and other stories*. Transl. A. Gretton. 286 pp. BN, 1934.
- „ *Diary of a Soviet Marriage*. Transl. J. Furnivall and R. Parmenter. Introd. J. Lavrin. 143 pp. Nutt, 1936.
- SERAFIMOVICH, A. *The Iron Flood*. 246 pp. L, 1935.
- SHIRAEFF, P. *Taglioni's Grandson. The story of a Russian horse*. Transl. A. Freemantle. 291 pp. P, 1937.
- SHISHAKOV, P. *Children of Darkness*. 288 pp. G, 1931.

- SHOLOKHOV, M. *And Quiet Flows the Don*. Transl. S. Garry 755 pp. P, 1934.
- „ *The Don flows home to the sea*. Transl. S. Garry. 868 pp. P, 1940.
- „ *Virgin Soil Upturned*. Transl. S. Garry. 496 pp. P, 1935.
- SMIDOVICH, V. V. *The Sisters*. Transl. J. Soskice. 288 pp. HN, 1934.
- „ (V. VIERESSAEV.) *The Deadlock*. Transl. N. Wissotzky and C. Coventry. 352 pp. F, 1927.
- SMIRNOVA, N. *Marfa. A Siberian novel*. Transl. M. Burr. 246 pp. BW, 1932.
- TARASOV-RODIONOV, A. *Chocolate*. Transl. C. Malamuth. 276 pp. H, 1933.
- TOLSTOI, A. N. *Imperial Majesty*. Transl. H. C. Matheson. 444 pp. Mathews & Marrot, 1932. (= Vol. I of *Peter the Great*.)
- „ *Darkness and Dawn*. Transl. E. Bone and E. Burns. 584 pp. G, 1935.
- „ *Peter the Great*. Transl. E. Bone and E. Burns. 463 pp. G, 1936.
- „ *The Death Box*. Transl. B. G. Guernsey. 357 pp. M, 1936.
- „ *Bread. A novel*. Transl. S. Garry. 447 pp. G, 1937.
- TYNIAOV, Y. *Death and Diplomacy in Persia*. Transl. A. Brown. 359 pp. BW, 1938.
- VINOGRADOV, A. *The Black Consul*. Transl. E. Burns. 447 pp. G, 1935.
- VOINOVA, A. *Semi-Precious Stones*. Transl. V. Snow. 531 pp. H, 1934.
- VORONSKY, A. *Waters of Life and Death*. Transl. L. Zarine. 343 pp. AU, 1936.
- ZAMIATIN, E. *We*. Transl. J. Zilboorg. 286 pp. AP (NY), 1924.
- ZOSHCHENKO, M. *The Woman who could not read, and other tales*. Transl. E. Fen. 153 pp. M, 1940.
- „ *The Wonderful Dog, and other tales*. Transl. E. Fen. 180 pp. M, 1942.

b. PLAYS

- AFINOGENEV, A. *Distant Point*. Transl. and adapted by H. Griffith. 95 pp. Pushkin Press, 1941.

- BILL-BELOTSEKOVSKY, V. *Life is Calling. A play in four acts.* Transl. A. Wixley. 88 pp. LW (USSR pr.), 1938.
- IVANOV, V. *Armoured Train 14-69.* Transl. Gibson-Cowan and A. T. K. Grant. 59 pp. L, 1938.
- KATAEV, V. *Squaring the Circle. A comedy in 3 acts.* Transl. and adapted by N. Goold-Verschoyle. 111 pp. W, 1934.
- LUNACHARSKI, A. V. *Vasilisa the Wise. A dramatic fairy tale.* Transl. L. A. Magnus. 69 pp. KP, 1923.
- „ *Three Plays: Faust and the City, Vasilisa the Wise, and The Magi.* Transl. L. A. Magnus and K. Walter. 299 pp. R, 1923.
- TRETIKOV, S. *Roar China. An episode in 9 scenes.* Transl. F. Polianskova and B. Nixon. 87 pp. L, 1931.

c. MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE

- ARSENIEV, V. K. *Dersu the Trapper.* Transl. M. Burr. 352 pp. SW, 1939. [A hunter's life in Eastern Siberia in 1902 and 1906.]
- BIANCHI, V. *Mourzouk. The Story of a Lynx.* Transl. I. Low. Illustr. by E. Charushkin and V. Kobelev. 103 pp. AU, 1937. [Animal stories.]
- „ *Forest News.* Transl. I. Low. Foreword by R. Fyleman. Illustr. by E. Charushkin and V. Kobelev. 184 pp. AU, 1938. [Animal stories.]
- CHUKOVSKY, K. *Crocodile.* Transl. B. Deutsch. With the original Russian illustrations. 30 pp. Mathews & Marrot, 1932. [Children's book. For the controversy aroused by its 'non-Marxist ideology', see E. WINTER, *Red Virtue*.]
- EHRENBURG, I. *A Soviet writer looks at Vienna.* Transl. I. Montagu. 47 pp. L, 1934.
- „ *The Fall of France seen through Soviet eyes.* Foreword by S. Townsend Warner. 31 pp. MB, 1941. [The author was in Paris after the German occupation.]
- GORKI, M. *Reminiscences of my Youth.* Transl. V. Dewey. 334 pp. H, 1924. [A continuation of his two earlier autobiographical works, *My Childhood* and *In the World*. Transl. G. M. Foakes. 308, 464 pp. WL, 1916, 1918.]
- „ *Fragments from my Diary.* 320 pp. PA, 1924. Repr. 176 pp. PB, 1940.
- „ *Reminiscences of Tolstoy, Chekhov and Andreev.* Transl. K. Mansfield, S. S. Kotliansky and L. Woolf. 191 pp. HP, 1934. [Repr. from the *Reminiscences of Leo Nicolayevitch*

Tolstoi and The Note Books of Anton Tchekhov, together with Reminiscences of Tolstoi by Maxim Gorki (Transl. S. S. Kotliansky and L. Woolf. 71, 115 pp. HP, 1920, 1921), and the *Reminiscences of Leonid Andreyev* (Transl. K. Mansfield and S. S. Kotliansky. 118 pp. H, 1931.)]

GORKI, M. *Days with Lenin*. 64 pp. L, 1932.

„ *On Guard for the Soviet Union*. Introd. by R. Rolland. 173 pp. L, 1933. [Essays and articles, dealing mainly with Russia's relations with the outside world.]

„ *Culture and the People*. 224 pp. LW (US pr.), 1939. [Essays.]

Gorki also contributed a preface (on war) to L. P. LOCHNER, *America's Don Quixote. Henry Ford's attempt to save Europe* (240 pp. KP, 1924), an essay on 'Man' to *The Drift of Civilization* (by the contributors to the 50th Anniversary number of the 'St Louis Post-Dispatch'. 254 pp. AU, 1930), a study on 'Soviet Literature' in *Problems of Soviet Literature* (1935), and an article in *The White Sea Canal* (1935). He was one of the editors of the *History of the Civil War in the USSR* (1937).

MIRSKY, D. S. *The Intelligentsia of Great Britain*. Transl. A. Brown. 237 pp. G, 1935. [Malicious characterisations.]

ODULOK, T. *Snow People. A Novel*. 152 pp. M, 1934. [Chukchi life.]

TRETIKOV, S. M. *Chinese Testament. The Autobiography of Tan Shih-hua as told to S. Tretiakov*. 383 pp. G, 1934. [Life of a Chinese student till the author lost touch with him in 1926.]

APPENDIX 2

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (CMD.) RELATING TO SOVIET RUSSIA

1917-18

- Cmd. 8587. [Misc. No. 10 (1917).] Note from the Russian Provisional Govt. and the British Reply respecting Allied War Aims. 5 pp. (June 1917.)
- „ 8588. [Misc. No. 11 (1917).] An Agreement concluded between His Majesty's Govt. and the Provisional Govt. of Russia relative to the reciprocal liability to military service of British subjects resident in Russia and Russian subjects resident in Great Britain. 3 pp. (July 1917.)

1918

- „ 9105. [Misc. No. 18 (1918).] Treaty of Peace signed at Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and the Ukrainian People's Republic, together with the supplementary treaty thereto. 31 pp. (July 1918.)

1919

- „ 8. [Russia No. 1 (1919).] A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia. 88 pp. (April 1919.) [This was subsequently withdrawn, and replaced by *A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia. Abridged edition of Parl. Paper, Russia No. 1 (1919).* 109 pp. SO, 1919.]
- „ 307. [Army.] Cost of Naval and Military Operations in Russia, from the date of the Armistice to the 31st July, 1919. 2 pp. (Aug. 1919.)
- „ 395. [Army.] Cost of Naval and Military Operations in Russia, from the date of the Armistice to the 31st October, 1919. 2 pp. (Nov. 1919.)

1920

- „ 587. [Russia No. 1 (1920).] Agreement between H.M. Govt. and the Soviet Govt. of Russia for the exchange of prisoners. 4 pp. (Feb. 1920.)

- Cmd. 641. [Misc. No. 6 (1920).] Economic Conditions in Central Europe (II). 61 pp. and map. (Feb. 1920.) [Contains brief notes on relief work in S. Russia.]
- „ 772. [Army.] Statement of Expenditure on Naval and Military Operations in Russia, from the date of the Armistice to the 31st March, 1920. 5 pp. (July 1920.)
- „ 818. [Army.] The Evacuation of North Russia, 1919. 45 pp. and map. (July 1920.)
- „ 1041. [Misc. No. 13 (1920).] Interim Report of the Committee to collect Information on Russia. 23 pp. (Nov. 1920.)

1921

- „ 1207. [Russian Trade Agreement.] Trade Agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Govt. and the Govt. of the RSFSR. 7 pp. (March 1921.)
- „ 1240. [Russia No. 1 (1921).] Report (Political and Economic) of the Committee to collect Information on Russia. 167 pp. (March 1921.) [The so-called 'Emmott Report'.]
- „ 1326. Intercourse between Bolshevism and Sinn Fein. 5 pp. (June 1921.) [Draft treaty between the Irish Republic and the RSFSR.]
- „ 1456. [Russia No. 2 (1921).] Correspondence between H.M. Govt. and the French Govt. respecting the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement. 20 pp. (Aug. 1921.)
- „ 1546. [Russia No. 3 (1921).] Correspondence with M. Krassin respecting Russia's Foreign Indebtedness. 6 pp. (Nov. 1921.)

1922

- Bill 136. [Sedition Propaganda.] A Bill to prevent the importation from Overseas of money, valuable securities, or property intended to be used for seditious propaganda; and for purposes connected therewith. 5 pp. (May 1922.) [No specific reference to Russia.]
- Cmd. 1602. [Russia No. 1 (1922).] Correspondence with the Russian Soviet Govt. respecting the Imprisonment of Mrs Stan Harding in Russia. 9 pp. (Jan. 1922.)

- Cmd. 1621. Resolutions adopted by the Supreme Council at Cannes, Jan. 1922, as the Basis of the Genoa Conference. 7 pp. (Jan. 1922.)
- „ 1637. [Misc. No. 2 (1922).] Telegram from M. Chicherin, Moscow, to the Govts. of Great Britain, France and Italy respecting the Genoa Conference. 4 pp. (March 1922.)
- „ 1657. [International Economic Conference, Genoa.] Memorandum sent to the Russian Delegation, Wednesday, May 3rd, 1922. 11 pp. (May 1922.)
- „ 1667. Papers relating to the International Economic Conference, Genoa, April-May, 1922. 99 pp. (June 1922.)
- „ 1724. Papers relating to the Hague Conference, June-July, 1922. 18 pp. (July 1922.)

1923

- „ 1846. [Russia No. 1 (1923).] Correspondence between H.M. Govt. and the Soviet Govt. respecting the murder of Mr C. F. Davison in Jan. 1920. 12 pp. (April 1923.) [Also the affair of the 26 Commissars.]
- „ 1869. [Russia No. 2 (1923).] Correspondence between H.M. Govt. and the Soviet Govt. respecting the relations between the two Govts. 13 pp. (May 1923). [Various grievances.]
- „ 1874. [Russia No. 3 (1923).] Reply of the Soviet Govt. to H.M. Govt. respecting the relations between the two Govts. 8 pp. (May 1923.)
- „ 1890. [Russia No. 4 (1923).] Further Correspondence between H. M. Govt. and the Soviet Govt. respecting the relations between the two Govts. 14 pp. (June, 1923.)

1924

- „ 2215. [Russia No. 1 (1924).] Draft of Proposed General Treaty between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the USSR. 14 pp. (Aug. 1924.)
- „ 2216. [Russia No. 2 (1924).] Draft of Proposed Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the USSR. 11 pp. (Aug. 1924.)

- Cmd. 2253. [Russia No. 3 (1924).] Text of Draft of Proposed General Treaty between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the USSR, as it stood when negotiations were suspended on Aug. 5, 1924. 13 pp. (Aug. 1924.)
- „ 2260. [Russia No. 4 (1924).] General Treaty between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the USSR. Signed at London, August 8, 1924. 14 pp. (Sept. 1924.) [Unratified.]
- „ 2261. [Russia No. 5 (1924).] Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the USSR. Signed at London, Aug. 8, 1924. 11 pp. (Sept. 1924.) [Unratified.]

1926

- „ 2682. Communist Papers. Documents selected from those obtained on the arrest of the Communist leaders on the 14th and 21st Oct., 1925. 135 pp. (June 1926.)

1927

- Bill 2. [Foreign Contributions (Interference with Trade and Industries).] A Bill to prohibit any person from inviting, accepting, or using funds from Foreign sources for the furtherance or maintenance of industrial disputes in Great Britain. 3 pp. (Feb. 1927.)
- Cmd. 2822. [Russia No. 1 (1927).] Note from H.M. Govt. to the Govt. of the USSR respecting the relations between the two Govts., and Note in reply, Feb. 23/26, 1927. 25 pp. (March 1927.)
- „ 2874. [Russia No. 2 (1927).] Documents illustrating the Hostile Activities of the Soviet Govt. and Third International against Great Britain. 31 pp. (May 1927.) [Mainly documents seized in the Arcos raid.]
- „ 2895. [Russia No. 3 (1927).] A Selection of Papers dealing with the relations between H.M. Govt. and the Soviet Govt., 1921-27. 72 pp. (June 1927.)

1928

- „ 3125. Russian Banks and Communist Funds. Report of an Enquiry into certain transactions of the Bank

for Russian Trade Ltd., and the Moscow Narodny Bank, Ltd. Memorandum by the Directors of the Moscow Narodny Bank, Ltd. 58 pp. (June 1928.)

1929-30

- Cmd. 3418. [Russian No. 1 (1929).] Correspondence regarding the Resumption of Relations with the Govt. of the USSR. 8 pp. (Oct. 1929.)
- „ 3467. [Russia No. 2 (1929).] Notes exchanged on the resumption of Diplomatic Relations with the USSR. 7 pp. (Jan. 1930.)
- „ 3511. [Russia No. 1 (1930).] Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars respecting Religious Associations, April 8, 1929. 14 pp. (Aug. 1930.)
- „ 3552. [Treaty Series No. 19 (1930).] Temporary Commercial Agreement between H.M. Govt. in the United Kingdom and the Govt. of the USSR, London, April 16, 1930. 8 pp. (April 1930.)
- „ 3583. [Treaty Series No. 22 (1930).] Temporary Fisheries Agreement between the Govts. of the United Kingdom and of the USSR, signed at London on May 22, 1930. 3 pp. (May 1930.)
- „ 3641. [Russia No. 2 (1930).] Certain legislation respecting Religion in force in the USSR. 11 pp. (Aug. 1930.)

1930-31

- „ 3775. [Russia No. 1 (1931).] A Selection of Documents relative to the Labour Legislation in force in the USSR. 200 pp. (Jan. 1931.)
- „ 3904. The Organisation of Foreign Trade of the USSR. Report by the Commercial Counsellor to H.M. Embassy in Moscow, G. P. Paton, C.B.E., May 1931. 38 pp. (July 1931.)

1932-33

- „ 4286. [Russia No. 1 (1933).] Correspondence relating to the arrest of employees of the Metropolitan-Vickers Co. at Moscow. 23 pp. (March 1933.)

- Cmd. 4290. [Russia No. 2 (1933).] Further Correspondence relating to the arrest of employees of the Metropolitan-Vickers Co. at Moscow. 20 pp. (April 1933.)
- Bill 85. [Russian Goods (Import Prohibition).] A Bill to authorise the prohibition of the importation of Russian goods. 3 pp. (April 1933.)

1933-34

- Cmd. 4513. [Russia No. 1 (1934).] Temporary Commercial Agreement between H.M. Govt. in the United Kingdom and the Govt. of the USSR. London, Feb. 16, 1934. 11 pp. (Feb. 1934.) [Unratified.]
- „ 4567. [Treaty Series No. 11 (1934).] Temporary Commercial Agreement between H.M. Govt. in the United Kingdom and the Govt. of the USSR. London, Feb. 16, 1934. 11 pp. (March 1934.) [Ratified.]
- „ 4669. [Russia No. 2 (1934).] Parcel Post Convention between His Majesty in respect of the United Kingdom and the USSR, with detailed regulations and exchange of notes. London, April 19, 1934. 24 pp. (April 1934.)

1935-36

- „ 5253. [Exports Credit Guarantee Dept.] Agreement with Soviet Trade Representative relating to guarantees in connection with the export to the Soviet Union of goods manufactured in the United Kingdom. 6 pp. (July 1936.)

1937-8

- „ 5679. [Treaty Series No. 17 (1938).] Agreement between H.M. Govt. in the United Kingdom and the Govt. of the USSR providing for the Limitation of Naval Armament and the Exchange of Information concerning Naval Construction. London, July 17, 1937. 18 + 22 pp. (July 1938.) [Ratified Nov. 1937.] [With Russian text.]
- „ 5794. [Russia No. 1 (1938).] Protocol modifying the Anglo-Soviet Agreement of July 17, 1937, for the Limitation of Naval Armament. London, July 6, 1938. 8 pp. (July 1938.)

1938-9

- Cmd. 6074. [Treaty Series No. 39 (1939).] Protocol modifying the Anglo-Soviet Agreement of July 17, 1937, for the Limitation of Naval Armament. London, July 6, 1938. 4 pp. (Feb. 1939.) [With Russian text.]

1940-1

- „ 6304. [Treaty Series No. 15 (1941).] Joint Action in the War against Germany. Agreement between H.M. Govt. in the United Kingdom and the Govt. of the USSR (with Protocol). Moscow, July 12, 1941. 5 pp. (July 1941.) [With Russian text.]

1942

- „ 6368. [Russia No. 1 (1942).] Treaty for an Alliance in the War against Hitlerite Germany and her Associates in Europe, and providing also for Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Thereafter. London, May 26, 1942. 7 pp. (June 1942.)

APPENDIX 3

MISCELLANEOUS SERIES RELATING TO SOVIET RUSSIA

a. RUSSIAN SERIES OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

(Ed. J. T. Shotwell [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace]. Yale Univ. Press, New Haven)

ZAGORSKY, S. O. *State Control of Industry in Russia during the War*. 351 pp. 1928. [Includes period of the Provisional Govt.]

Russian Public Finance during the War. (1) A. M. MICHELSON, *Revenue and Expenditure*. With introd. by Count V. N. Kokovtsov. (2) P. N. APOSTOL, *Credit Operations*. (3) M. W. BERNATSKY, *Monetary Policy*. 461 pp. 1928.

NOLDE, BARON B. E. *Russia in the Economic War*. 232 pp. 1928.

The War and the Russian Government. (1) P. P. GRONSKY, *The Russian Government*. (2) N. J. ASTROV, *The Municipal Government and the All-Russian Union of Towns*. 331 pp. 1929.

Russian Schools and Universities in the World War. Introduction by Count P. N. Ignatiev. (1) D. M. ODINETZ, *Primary and Secondary Schools*. (2) P. J. NOVGOROTSEV, *Universities and Higher Technical Schools*. 239 pp. 1929.

The Cooperative Movement in Russia during the War. (1) E. M. KAYDEN, *Consumers' Cooperation*. (2) A. N. ANTSIFEROV, *Credit and Agricultural Cooperation*. 420 pp. 1929.

Russian Agriculture during the War. (1) A. N. ANTSIFEROV (in collaboration with A. D. BILIMOVICH, M. O. BATSHEV, and D. N. IVANTSOV), *Rural Economy*. (2) A. D. BILIMOVICH, *The Land Settlement*. 394 pp. 1930.

Food Supply in Russia during the World War. Under the general direction of P. B. STRUVE. (1) K. I. ZAITSEV and N. V. DOLINSKY, *Organization and Policy*. (2) S. S. DEMOSTHENOV, *Food Prices and the Market in Foodstuffs*. 469 pp. 1930.

POLNER, T. J. (in collaboration with PRINCE V. A. OBOLENSKY and S. P. TURIN), *Russian Local Government during the War*

and the Union of Zemstvos. Introd. by Prince G. E. Lvov. 314 pp. 1930.

FLORINSKY, M. T. *The End of the Russian Empire.* 272 pp. 1931.

GOLOVINE, LIEUT.-GEN. N. N. *The Russian Army in the World War.* 287 pp. 1931.

The Cost of the War to Russia. (1) S. KOHN, *The Vital Statistics of European Russia during the World War, 1914-1917.* (2)

BARON A. F. MEYENDORFF, *Social Cost of the War.* 219 pp. 1932.

b. MEMORANDA OF THE BIRMINGHAM BUREAU OF
RESEARCH ON RUSSIAN ECONOMIC CONDI-
TIONS (RUSSIAN DEPT., UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM)

First Series

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|------------|----|------------|--------|---|
| Memorandum | 1. | May 1931. | 19 pp. | (i) Remarks on the Five-Year Plan. |
| | | | | (ii) Compulsory Labour in the USSR. |
| „ | 2. | July 1931. | 24 pp. | Foreign Trade of the USSR. |
| „ | 3. | Oct. 1931. | 16 pp. | National Income of the USSR. |
| „ | 4. | Feb. 1932. | 23 pp. | The Balance of Payments and the Foreign Debt of the USSR. |

Second Series.

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|------------|----|------------|--------|--|
| Memorandum | 5. | May 1932. | 23 pp. | (1) Remarks on the Five-Year Plan. |
| | | | | (2) Agricultural Collectivisation. |
| | | | | (3) Oil Consumption and Export. |
| „ | 6. | July 1932. | 24 pp. | Wages of Industrial Workers in the USSR. |
| „ | 7. | Oct. 1932. | 23 pp. | (1) Foreign Trade. |
| | | | | (2) Monetary Conditions. |
| | | | | (3) Indices of Wholesale Prices. |
| | | | | (4) State Budget. |

Memorandum 8. Dec. 1932. 24 pp. The Communist Policy towards the Peasant and the Food Crisis in the USSR.

Third Series

Memorandum 9. July 1934. 23 pp. Foreign Trade of the USSR.

„ 10. Nov. 1934. 15 pp. Remarks on the 2nd Five-Year Plan: Prospects of Realisation.

„ 11. Dec. 1935. 8 pp. (i) New Tendencies.
(ii) Heavy Industry.
(iii) Railway Transport.

„ 12. July 1939. 20 pp. Results of the 2nd Five-Year Plan and the Project of the 3rd Five-Year Plan.

Fourth Series

Memorandum 13. May 1940. 68 pp. Prospects of Soviet Trade during the War Period. [For private circulation only.]

C. MONOGRAPHS OF THE SCHOOL OF SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

First Series

1. *The Prospects of British Trade with the Soviet Union.* [By L. LAWTON.] 34 pp. June 1934.
2. *Collectivised Agriculture in the Soviet Union.* [By L. LAWTON, S. P. TURIN, and A. V. BAIKALOV.] 31 pp. Aug. 1934.
3. *Money, Prices and Gold in the Soviet Union.* [By L. LAWTON and A. V. BAIKALOV.] 36 pp. Nov. 1934.
- 4-5. *Banking and Credit in the Soviet Union.* 76 pp. Feb. 1935.
6. *Press and Publishing in the Soviet Union.* [By M. JARYC.] 24 pp. May 1935.

Second Series

- 7-8. *The Prospects of British and American Trade with the Soviet Union.* [By L. LAWTON and W. C. HUNTINGTON.] 50 pp. July 1935.

9. *The End of Rationing and the Standard of Living in the Soviet Union.* 28 pp. Nov. 1935.
10. *German Trade with the Soviet Union.* [By W. HÖFFDING.] 28 pp. Jan. 1936.

Printed for Private Circulation

11. *Collectivised Farming in the USSR.* [By Sir J. Maynard. Repr. from the *Slavonic Review*, xv, 1936, pp. 47-69.]
12. *Text of the New Constitution of the USSR, with Historical Commentary by Sir Bernard Pares.* [Repr. from *International Conciliation* (NY), 1937, pp. 135-63.]

APPENDIX 4

SOME NOVELS ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA

THIS list is only a selection of some novels that happen to be known to the compiler, and makes no pretence to be exhaustive.

- ASCH, S. *Three Cities*. Transl. W. and E. Muir. 862 pp. G, 1933. [October Revolution.]
- BRENNER, V. *Russia in the Name of God*. Transl. from the German by E. Law-Gisiko. 269 pp. SJ, 1931. [The Church in the War and Revolution.]
- DURANTY, W. *The Gold Train, and other stories*. 288 pp. HH, 1938. [Short stories, mainly about Russia.]
- „ *One Life, One Kopeck*. 320 pp. HH, 1937. [Revolution and Civil War.]
- FISCHER, M. *Palaces on Monday*. 224 pp. SW, 1937. [Children's book about a visit to Russia.]
- FOX, R. *Storming Heaven*. 311 pp. C, 1928. [America and Siberia, 1921-2.]
- HINDUS, M. *Under Moscow Skies*. 736 pp. G, 1936. [Life in the early 'thirties.]
- HUTCHINSON, R. C. *Testament*. 732 pp. CS, 1938. [Revolutionary period.]
- KOESTLER, A. *Darkness at Noon*. 256 pp. CA, 1940. [The Trials of 1937-8.]
- KRASNOFF, P. N. *From Double-Eagle to Red Flag*. Transl. E. Law-Gisiko. Introd. by W. Gerhardi. 852 pp. AU, 1928. [Court circle, war, and revolution; by a former Hetman of the Don Cossacks.]
- NAZHIVIN, I. *The Dogs*. Transl. from the Russian. 331 pp. AU, 1931. [Pre-war, war, and revolutionary period, as seen through the eyes of pet dogs. By an emigré.]
- „ *Rasputin*. Transl. C. J. Hogarth. 2 vols. 749 pp. Knopf [US pr.], 1929. [War and revolutionary periods.]
- ORENBURGSKI, S. G. *The Land of the Children*. Transl. N. N. Selivanova. 421 pp. LN, 1928. [War and Revolution, 1915-20. By an emigré.]
- PIASETSKI, S. *Lover of the Great Bear*. Transl. from the Polish by J. Mann. 427 pp. R, 1938. [Smuggling on the Soviet-Polish frontier in the early 'twenties. Semi-autobiographical.]

- ROBERTSON, A. *Philosopher on Holiday. A Dialogue.* 183 pp. Eric Partridge, 1933. [Debates by a group of visitors to Russia.]
- SALAMAN, E. *Two Silver Roubles.* 365 pp. MM, 1932. [Civil War in the Ukraine ; pogroms.]
- SAVINKOV, B. (Ropshin.) *The Black Horse.* Transl. with a foreword by Sir P. Dukes. 143 pp. WN, 1924. [Revolutionary period ; semi-autobiographical.]
- TREASE, G. *Red Comet. A Tale of Travel in the USSR.* 212 pp. LW, 1937. [Children's story about an imaginary trip through Russia by air.]
- WALPOLE, H. *The Secret City.* 446 pp. MM, 1919. [Revolutionary period ; sequel to *The Dark Forest*.]
- WILLIAMS-ELLIS, A. *Volcano.* 365 pp. CA, 1931. [Revolution and after.]
- „ *To Tell the Truth . . .* 229 pp. CA, 1933. [The future.]
- ZAITSEV, B. *Anna.* Transl. B. Duddington. 148 pp. AU, 1937. [Civil War period ; by one of the best of the emigré writers.]

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The index is primarily one of authors' names, with a few subject headings for items which cannot easily be traced from the Table of Contents. It does not include the names of translators or the writers of prefaces and introductions. Anonymous books and pamphlets are listed under the first principal word in the title, collective works under the title, and in most cases under the editor's name as well. When several page references follow the title of a book, the one that comes first is the one under which all bibliographical details will be found.

- Abbe, J., *I photograph Russia*, 98
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 Abraham, G. (and Calvocoressi, M. D.), *Masters of Russian Music*, 244
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